The Outlook

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THE STORY OF THE WAR: KING CONSTANTINE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

One of the most interesting events of the week under consideration (January 19–26) was the publication of an authorized statement by the King of Greece addressed to the people of the United States as a neutral forum of public opinion. Its form, like the King's previous statement some weeks ago, was made through the Associated Press. If the present statement is compared with former interviews granted by the King, a serious change of position is shown, for the former statement included a clear, although involved, admission that the landing of the Allies at Salonika was allowed, if not actually invited, and expressed warm sympathy with the Allies; while now Constantine talks of the "unheard-of highhandedness of the recent action of the Allies towards Greece" and "the Allies' encroachment on the sovereignty of Greece." In the main, the interview is a protest against such recent acts of the Allies as the occupation of Corfu and the blowing up of a bridge for military purposes. Such acts as these are, on their face, a necessary sequence of the original entrance of the Allies into Greece. Being there, they must necessarily prepare to defend themselves against the threatening movements of Bulgarians, Germans, and Austrians. The King admits, even in this statement, that the Allies entered Greece in order to render that support to Servia which Greece, although bound by treaty to afford, had through fear refused. He denies that the occupation of Greek islands is necessary or that they are being used as a submarine base by the enemies of the Allies.

In reply to this interview with the King, and published simultaneously with it, the Associated Press sent out a reply from what it terms "the highest French authority," which to most people's mind would seem to mean President Poincaré. This answers the King's protests point by point, declares that the "Allies went to Servia at the request of the Greek Government," that the only protest made was purely formal, and that the Greek military authorities and railways gave the Allies every facility—as, indeed, the King himself stated in his former interview; that the charges as to a submarine base are true; that the blowing up of the bridge in question was absolutely necessary, and that its cost will be repaid. Then comes this remarkable statement which, we believe, has not before been made publicly by any one in authority:

> The Greek Government was so little convinced that the Gallipoli enterprise would be a failure that they tried by every means to take part in it, and it was only their exaggerated demands that caused their co-operation to be refused. If the enterprise has been a failure and the Servians have been crushed, the fact is due to Greece's declining to fulfill her engagements as an ally towards Servia, and allowing her territory to be surrounded by the armies of her bitterest enemy.

Curiously enough, the King himself states that at the beginning of the war eighty per cent of the Greeks were favorable to the Allies, but claims that to-day this has been reduced to twenty per cent. The French reply turns this point upon him convincingly by referring to the recent elections in Greece, where the enormous number of voters who stayed away from the polls was a clear indication that they still favor Venizelos and his policy of friendship to the Allies.

Finally, the telling point is made that to this day the Allies are financing the Greek army. No unprejudiced reader can study these two documents without seeing that any attempt to compare the temporary occupation of certain parts of Greece by the Allies with Greece's consent with the invasion and occupation of Belgium is preposterous from every point of view.

CONSCRIPTION IN ENGLAND

On January 24 the compulsory military service bill passed its third and final reading

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in the British House of Commons. The vote in favor of the bill was 383 to 36—a smaller total vote than on the first reading (403 to 105) and with a decrease of two-thirds in the Opposition vote. It may be said that the minority vote in all three of the readings was so small as to be almost negligible. The bill, of course, goes at once to the House of Lords, and there is no question in any one's mind that it will be passed without serious opposition there. The result is a triumph for the Coalition Ministry. Mr. Bonar Law, in closing the debate, noted the extraordinary change in sentiment that had taken place since the matter was under discussion. The main provision of the bill empowers the Government to call under the British flag every unmarried man fit for military service who did not enroll himself either for military service or industrial service under Lord Derby's campaign. Proper exceptions are made of those who are now working in what are called "starred" industries—that is, practically, industries furnishing munitions and other needed things for the war—and of those on whose labor depends the absolute support of persons close to them.

One other exception is made to the operation of the bill. Ireland is entirely omitted from its scope. This exception is due to political rather than to industrial reasons, and is founded on expediency and not on principles of absolute justice.

The opposition to conscription in the British Labor party has not yet been destroyed. A great British Labor party conference is in session as we write, at Bristol; it is said to represent 2,250,000 workers. The chief question before this conference is the attitude of the party towards compulsion and the question whether the Labor party's representatives still in the Coalition Cabinet should withdraw.

Following the passage of the compulsion bill there was published an interview with the Minister of Munitions, Mr. David Lloyd George. He expressed himself as now confident of the outcome of the war, and said: "England is planning to put her whole weight into the war, and Germany will feel it shortly. It is an effort such as England has never made before—a truly prodigious effort. In the days before the war she had the greatest fleet in the world, but now she has one of the greatest armies, and in a very short time it will be about the best-equipped army in the world."

ON THE FIRING LINES

The situation in Mesopotamia did not alter decisively during the week. The British relief forces advancing to support General Townshend's troops shut up in Kut-el-Amara have more than once been engaged with the Turkish forces, and on one recent occasion are said to have fought a battle lasting six hours. The Turks claim that in this battle the British were driven back with a loss of three thousand men, but the British War Office asserts that there was nothing conclusive about the engagement, and declares that the British in Kut-el-Amara have plenty of supplies and are able to resist all attacks. The Turks, on the other hand, assert that there is great lack of supplies and provisions, and especially water, on the part of the besieged forces, and that an early surrender is probable. Terrific weather has seriously hindered military operations in this campaign.

The Russian advance in Persia from the north toward Bagdad is not as closely connected with the British campaign in Mesopotamia as a glance at the map might indicate, for while the distance is not enormous the difficulties of the waterless desert are great.

The question of the formal and unconditional surrender of Montenegro was disputed as our week began. It soon became of no consequence, for the Austrian forces have now overrun Montenegro, occupying nearly all of the important strategic points. The King and the royal family have fled to Italy. The invasion of Montenegro has been followed by the invasion of Albania by the Austrian armies. While the Italians still occupy the important parts of Avlona and Durazzo, the city of Scutari is in Austrian hands, and, if Italy is to hold any part of Albania and retain her prestige on the eastern Adriatic, strenuous military action is required on her part.

Warfare in the air marked the week in several places. Two air raids on England were made by German aeroplanes without great damage. Many think that they presage another great Zeppelin raid. A report comes of a bombardment by a "squadron of forty-five French aeroplanes" at Monastir, and there was also recently a French air attack on Metz, in Lorraine. One thing that is amusing as well as instructive in the accounts of all these air raids is the care which the assailants always take to show that they were justified by the rules of war, while the reports

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of the assailed always indicate the contrary. Thus, as to the raid in Great Britain referred to above, Berlin reports say that the air-ships "bombarded the station, the barracks, and the docks" at Dover, while English accounts point out that "one woman and three children were injured" and that no damage was done in a military sense. Again, in describing the French raid on Metz, the German accounts declare that the bombs "fell on the Bishop's residence and killed two civilians and wounded eight," while the French accounts lay stress on the damage done to railway stations and military supplies.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE BRITISH BLOCKADE

War hurts the neutral as well as the belligerent, and the greater the war the greater the injury. The British undertaking to besiege Germany by sea has been very effective, but its consequences have been severely felt by some neutral countries. The Swedish Premier Hammarskjöld was evidently referring to the British blockade when he said last week in both houses of the Swedish Parliament: "It is our fervent desire to keep peace, and it is our duty to work for this end with all our might, but we must also reckon with eventualities, in which maintenance of peace, in spite of all our efforts, would no longer be profitable." And, referring to the co-operative efforts of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway to promote their common aim, he added: "We regret that these united efforts for the rights and welfare of neutral Powers, and for preservation of the inheritance of international law, should depend on circumstances over which we have no control, and to judge which we have no right." In reply, the Socialist leader, Hjalmar Branting, declared that the Premier's policy seemed to be to expose the nation to the gravest perils solely for the sake of an exact interpretation of international law.

It is a curious position in which neutral nations are placed. The complaint of shippers in neutral countries is that Great Britain is hampering legitimate trade without right of law, while international lawyers in neutral countries are arguing that the only way in which Great Britain can observe the letter of the law is by making her blockade more rigid, and therefore increasing the hardships of neutrals.

A British naval officer is quoted as saying that the whole difficulty could be avoided if Great Britain followed the German example of submarining ships which attempt to run the blockade. Great Britain could do this and provide for the safety of passengers and crew, but without examining the cargoes or the papers of the vessels, and thus stop all traffic across the Baltic. Is this what the United States wants? Of course not. But we have allowed Germany to do this with very little protest except when lives have been lost.

Meantime, British newspapers are criticising the Government because the blockade is too lax. The "Daily Mail" has cited figures, purporting to be taken from American sources, to show that American trade with neutral countries like Norway has increased to such an extent as to prove that goods are escaping the British blockade by going from America by way of Norway and other neutral countries to Germany. To this the British Government has replied, showing that these figures, even so far as they are correct, do not prove this conclusively.

Another element has entered in to complicate matters. The British law known as "Trading with the Enemy" Act prohibits British residents from trading with any companies or individuals that have any business dealings with the Teutonic Empires. There are concerns in the United States which are owned in part or wholly by Germans and which deal with Germany. This Act, if enforced, would prohibit Britons from trading with such American concerns. In one sense, this is a domestic affair of Great Britain's, and therefore can hardly be a subject for formal protest, but it may enter into the question of the blockade, because goods from such American concerns may be treated by Great Britain as enemy goods, while the United States will hold that, as they came from residents of the United States, they are, under international law, neutral goods.

We say here again what we have said repeatedly before, that these questions are to be considered as corresponding to such questions as in domestic affairs would be settled by the civil courts, and are subject, therefore, to compromise and settlement by payments of money; while the issues that have been raised between this country and Germany are matters which in domestic affairs would be submitted to a criminal court, and could have no satisfactory settlement except through the punishment and the reform of the guilty party.

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PREPAREDNESS AND CONGRESS: THE FLETCHER REPORT MADE PUBLIC

Those who read Secretary Daniels's annual report will recall its somewhat roseate phrases describing the present condition of the American navy. In that report Mr. Daniels was authority for the statement that the personnel was up to the prescribed quota in numbers—a statement which meant merely that the personnel was as large as the law allowed, but which had no bearing upon the needs of the service itself for a greatly increased body of officers and men. Secretary Daniels did say, however, that "more than ninety per cent of the effective fighting power of the navy is now fully manned." Secretary Daniels voiced the opinion that our American submarines "are on a par with any in the world," and he took pride in the fact that "the navy is coming to be the biggest university in America; 'every ship a school' is now literally true."

The misleading character of Secretary Daniels's report is painfully apparent when contrasted with the report, recently made public, from Admiral Fletcher, Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic Fleet. This report was sent to the Senate soon after the opening of Congress and was voted confidential. Its contents, however, became known through a summary in the New York "Sun," and the report itself was therefore published. Perhaps the most important information which it contains is Admiral Fletcher's statement of the present shortage of personnel needed to make our navy an effective machine. Admiral Fletcher says:

> The most vital weakness in the Atlantic Fleet is the shortage of officers. It takes approximately ten years to educate and train an officer, and no amount of legislation can provide officers when trouble is imminent. Expansion of the navy is limited by the number of officers available. The fleet is handicapped, not alone by the shortage of officers, but by the inexperience of the large number of young officers that have been added to the navy in the last few years. This condition, coupled with the shortage of officers, has resulted in officers being ordered to duties beyond their capacities and for which their experience and judgment do not fit them.

As a particular illustration of this shortage of men Admiral Fletcher says:

> At general quarters in the United States steamship Utah a chief petty officer is in charge of one turret, and an ensign graduated in 1914 is in charge of another. There are no officers for handling rooms and no officers available for the after range-finder. The torpedo room is in charge of a chief petty officer, and the torpedo officer stationed in the conning tower is of the class of 1914. In the plotting room a pay clerk and a yeoman are performing work which requires commissioned officers of the line.

Concerning the condition of our submarines Admiral Fletcher says:

> While there are twelve submarines in full commission assigned to operate with the fleet, only six of these vessels were in condition to proceed to Pensacola for the winter's work. All twelve were assembled in May in New York, but only ten were available for the war problem, May 18–25. Of these ten a number were soon incapacitated by machinery troubles, and at times not more than five submarines were ready for duty. Due to untrained crews some of the five were not ready to undertake submerged work.

Admiral Fletcher points out the vital need of scouting vessels and fast cruisers, and describes the effect of this shortage upon the maneuvers during the last year. He expresses also his belief that the service will be benefited by the withdrawal of Secretary Daniels's orders in regard to compulsory education in the navy. With the compulsory features omitted, greater facilities will be available for teaching and helping those who are ambitious to help themselves.

GENERAL WOOD BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE

Before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs General Leonard Wood discussed the military power of the United States in comparison with the military power of nations which might question the international policies of the United States. Some of the steps which General Wood recommended for the immediate improvement of our defense were:

> The modification of the Enlistment Act to provide for a short term of service with the colors and service with the reserve corps.
>
> A moderate increase in the regular army, which he definitely outlined.
>
> Authority and money for the formation of an officers' corps of forty-five thousand men, a matter of imperative necessity.
>
> The accumulation of a reserve of *matériel*.

General Wood stated his belief that the proposed plan of building up a continental army while still maintaining and supporting the militia under State control was wrong in principle. He said:

> To keep the militia and build up a continental army . . . is like saying to your butler: "You

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have failed to do your duty, but I am going to keep you and hire another man to do your work." The continental army and militia would be constantly fighting each other, striving to secure money and recruits, particularly money.

As to our preparedness to meet the army of a first-class power, General Wood said:

The European war . . . has demonstrated that a large army, far outnumbering the entire standing army of the country, could be landed in a single expedition, unless the navy succeeded in affording protection.

And the navy of the United States . . . is now in fourth place. Great Britain alone has launched more capital ships since the beginning of the present war than the United States possesses.

General Wood further gave his adherence to the idea that universal training, not necessarily in the carrying of arms, but in some work connected with National defense, must ultimately be the portion of every male citizen fit for service. To this democratic principle The Outlook has already given its hearty approval.

THE DEMOCRATS AND THE PHILIPPINES

The fundamental weakness of popular self-government lies in its apparent inability to adopt and pursue a settled policy of development. So far as our country is concerned, this fact has never been more painfully illustrated than in our relations with the Philippine Islands.

When the American Nation elected Mr. Wilson President in 1912, it is doubtful if the result was even remotely affected by any consideration of a change in policy toward the Philippines. Yet that election of Mr. Wilson served to reverse the carefully considered policy of Philippine development and education which the United States had pursued from the year 1900. Capable officials were recalled or forced to resign, and the accepted policy of education towards self-government thrown aside.

In the last session of Congress the Jones Bill, as introduced, affirmed the intention of the United States to relinquish the Philippine Islands upon the establishment of a stable native government. How far some members of Congress are prepared to go beyond this comparatively simple affirmation of intention may be judged from the following quotation from the Clarke amendment to the Philippine Bill now under consideration. This amendment directs the President to recognize the independence of the Filipinos in not less than two years or more than four years, and then continues:

Provided that, if the President, at the expiration of the said period of four years, shall find that the conditions of the internal or external affairs of said Philippines in respect to the stability or efficiency of the proposed government thereof are such as to warrant him in so doing, he is hereby further authorized, by proclamation duly made and published, to extend the same time to and including the date of the final adjournment of the session of Congress which shall convene next after the date of the expiration of the said period of four years, and thus afford the Congress an opportunity in its discretion to further consider the situation in the said Philippines; but any such extension of time by the President shall not otherwise suspend or nullify the operative force of this Act, unless the Congress shall hereafter so direct.

The amendment also instructs the President to neutralize the islands by international agreement, and, failing in this, to guarantee the independence for a period of five years after the withdrawal, retaining such control as may be necessary to enforce order and avoid external complications.

This vicious proviso cannot be too strongly condemned. It, in effect, makes a promise of independence to the Filipinos which in all probability will not and cannot be fulfilled. If this proviso is adopted, the next Administration and the next Congress will undoubtedly be confronted with the dishonorable alternative of sacrificing its own convictions or of appearing to break the pledged word of the United States.

We are of the opinion that there is enough intelligence in the United States to recognize the consummate absurdity of a bill or an argument which purports to guarantee the Philippines against the fate of Belgium by equipping the Philippines with the same paper defense of neutralization which cost that unfortunate nation its life.

AN INTERNATIONAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The principles of good manners and right conduct among nations we call international law. Many people seem to think that the present war, with its violation of almost every one of these principles, has ended the system—that there is no longer such a thing as international law.

Not so; it still exists. Even its most brutal violator—Germany—refers to it in terms of respect. Defied, insulted, betrayed,

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it has not ceased to be the ideal towards which the nations in their better moments have struggled.

The nations of this hemisphere have had a special help in this direction from the American Institute of International Law. It is composed of one hundred and five members—five from each of the twenty-one American republics. The members from this country are two of our ex-Secretaries of State, Elihu Root and Robert Bacon; the present Secretary, Robert Lansing; an ex-Solicitor of the Department of State, James Brown Scott; and, finally, Professor Leo S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania. Mr. Root is the Honorary President of the Institute, and Dr. Scott the actual President.

Among the members of the Institute many were in attendance on the Pan-American Scientific Congress which convened recently in Washington, and at a meeting on January 6 they drew up a Declaration of Rights of the Nations, applying to the countries of the world the principles of human rights as set forth in our own Declaration of Independence.

The text of these principles has been published, and we condense it as follows:

1. Every nation has the right to exist, but this does not imply the right to protect itself by the commission of unlawful acts against unoffending states.

2. Every nation has the right to independence . . . provided that it does not interfere with or violate the just rights of other states.

3. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other state.

4. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries.

5. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all other nations.

This is, of course, merely a restatement of doctrines in which all men believe, or should believe. And yet in such times as the present, when these doctrines are deliberately defied, it is well to have such a reassertion. A special value attaches to the present statement, however, because of two of the principles laid down. In our opinion, they have a direct and certainly significant bearing on the violation by Germany of the integrity of Belgium.

THE DUTY OF NEUTRALS

The first of the principles which the American Institute of International Law has drawn up condemns the German invasion; the second implies that the nations should have rallied to the defense of the oppressed. Yet nothing in the Declaration indicates how the rallying should be done—whether by diplomatic protest or by actual armed force. As to the latter, a method has been proposed by the League to Enforce Peace, according to which, when a nation has outlawed itself by an unjustified attack upon another, the other nations will rally to the defense of the attacked.

In this connection, we note that so careful a critic as the New York "Times," following the strangely persistent lead of the New York "Sun," declares that the Hague treaty which proclaims that "the territory of neutral Powers is inviolable" is by its own terms inapplicable to the present case because not ratified by all the belligerents. England, Turkey, Montenegro, and Servia did not ratify it. Therefore it would seem that the treaty is not binding.

But it is binding, both technically and morally. The declaration of war between Germany and any of the non-ratifying Powers did not occur until after the violation of Belgian neutrality. Morally, of course, Germany has not a leg to stand on.

But neither has America. We solemnly affirmed the principle of neutrality, both by our delegates' signatures and by our ratification. Does not that involve responsibility and duty? Who can estimate the moral effect in Europe awakened by an immediate protest from us against the violation of neutrality?

Such protest would have come with special point from us because under the Monroe Doctrine we protect a dozen weak Latin-American countries from aggression. Our position as guarantor should give to us a greater concern than has any other nation in protecting weak neutral states from attack. If international morals did not inspire us, one would think that, looking at the matter from the lowest standpoint, that of national interests, we might have been inspired to action.

It is precisely these national interests in Latin America, as reflected by the Monroe Doctrine, and the system of international morals, whether applied to the Eastern or Western Hemisphere, which make such a Declaration of Rights as has just been put forth of greater significance to us than to any other nation. It is a pleasure, therefore, to read in the full text of the Declaration a reference to the decision of Chief Justice

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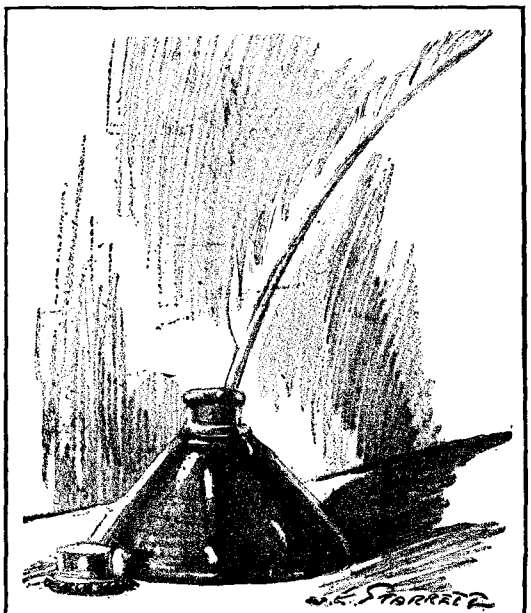
CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Starrett in the New York Tribune



OUR FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE

A NEW INTERNATIONAL WEAPON—THE INKSTAND

Satterfield in the Chicago Post

THE MERRY-GO-ROUND

GETTING NOWHERE!

Weed in the Philadelphia Public Ledger

THE CONFESSION

AND WE ARE CALLED THE STRONGEST AND WEALTHIEST OF NATIONS!

Coffman in the New York Evening Journal

GET YOUR GUNS THE BRITISH ARE COMING
I'LL WRITE A NOTE TO THOSE PEOPLE AT LEXINGTON AND TELL 'EM THEY HAD BETTER LEAVE AS THE BRITISH ARE COMING

IF PAUL REVERE HAD BELIEVED IN WATCHFUL WAITING

A PARALLEL DRAWN FROM OUR REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

From Fantasio (Paris) (c)

MACKENSEN THE TACITURN

A FRENCH TRIBUTE TO THE PROWESS OF A REDOUBTABLE FOE

From Le Rire (Paris) (c)

THE KAISER'S DREAM OF HIS PLACE IN EGYPTIAN HISTORY

APROPOS OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF AN EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN

From Simplicissimus (Munich) (c)

"THE 'MEATLESS DAY' WOULD BE ALL RIGHT IF WE ONLY HAD ANY MEAT ON THE OTHER DAYS!"

THE GERMAN PEASANT HAS TO GO WITHOUT MEAT ALL THE TIME NOW

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Waite in 1886, holding that it was the duty of the United States, as a member of the society of nations, to protect the money of a foreign government from forgery, Colombia being the foreign country involved. Such a broad declaration of duty obligates us to see that the sovereign rights of other nations are duly respected and protected. In saying this, we are aware that there is a difference between being respected and being protected. This difference will doubtless cause interesting discussion. We shall not be at all surprised, however, if the result shows that rights and duties are correlative and that, as Chief Justice Waite said, "a right secured by the law of nations to a nation or its people is one which the United States, or the representatives of this Nation, are bound to protect."

MEXICAN SAVAGERY

Assurances that punishment should be meted out to the murderers of Americans at Santa Ysabel have not been lacking, but the murderers have not been identified, caught, or punished. In short, the probability seems strong that, as in many other cases of outrages on Americans, there will be no redress from Mexico, while inaction by our Government will continue. Villa has denounced the crime—not to be behind Carranza; he asserts that the bandits who did it were never under his command, and offers a reward for their summary execution. To kill a man or men for a specific crime on suspicion and at sight, without court martial, would in a civilized country be lynching. What we want is justice, not slaughter.

Carranza also was quick to see that the Santa Ysabel crime might be used to further the crushing of his enemies without regard even to military law. He accordingly issued a decree (the text has been published) in which he authorizes any citizen of Mexico to "execute" on sight Francisco Villa, Rafael Castro, and Pablo Lopez. Probably the two men last named were actually involved in the massacre—we do not know; very likely Villa ordered or permitted attacks on Americans; but we confess a prejudice in favor of law and order even in the killing of criminals.

And Carranza thinks this time, while Americans are smarting under bitter wrongs and injuries, opportune for a protest against the firing by American troops across the Mexican border *upon Mexicans who had just fired upon them!*

In a lately published interview on Mexico with Judge W. O. Howard, of the New York Supreme Court, we find this passage:

> The land is stricken by a deadly blight, the blight of anarchy. Atrocities, cruelties, desolation, chaos, carnage, lawlessness, ashes—this is Mexico. This riot of lust and blood is not a strife between great armed nations, where intervention would be insanity; it is a rampage of freebooters, rapers, and robbers, where intervention would bless humanity, but we call no halt upon this carousal of mobs and brutes and bandits.

THE REMOVAL OF SUPERINTENDENT RILEY

Governor Whitman's removal of Mr. John B. Riley as Superintendent of the Prisons of New York State was the direct outcome of Superintendent Riley's order of January 4 for the transfer from Sing Sing to Dannemora Prison of sixty-six convicts, including several members of the Mutual Welfare League which Warden Thomas Mott Osborne established at Sing Sing, and including nine men who were wanted as witnesses for Mr. Osborne at his trial on indictments alleging personal and official misconduct. In a statement accompanying his order of removal Governor Whitman said of Mr. Riley: "One of two things is true—either he was knowingly and willingly a party to a plan deliberately conceived for the purpose of affecting the result of a criminal trial, or the conditions of his important office are such that this wholly reprehensible thing could be brought about by his signature and without his knowledge."

As we go to press Mr. Riley's successor has not been named, but there is some reason to expect that the man will be Mr. Frank E. Wade, who is Vice-President of the State Prison Commission and of the State Probation Commission, and who has the regard of several authorities on prison reform in New York. Under the Constitution of New York, the Superintendent of Prisons is appointed by the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for a term of five years. He is removable at any time by the Governor if presented with a copy of the charges against him and if given an opportunity to be heard in his own defense.

The Constitution gives the Superintendent of Prisons "the superintendence, management, and control of State prisons" and the appointment of the agents, wardens, chaplains, and physicians of such prisons.

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He alone has the power of removing wardens.

A TRIUMPH OF PRISON REFORM

The removal of Mr. Riley may be considered a triumph of prison reform in New York State, despite the fact that his appointment by Governor Sulzer was also considered such a triumph. At the outset of his incumbency of the office Mr. Riley came out in support of many humane measures for prisoners. He was, and it is understood that he still is, in favor of road work for prisoners, and in favor of the Mutual Welfare League, the baseball games, and some of the other innovations that Mr. Osborne put into effect at Sing Sing. But lately he has fallen behind the march of prison reform. He is in favor of the maintenance of Sing Sing as it is, whereas the loudest cry of most of the prison humanitarians in New York State to-day is for the substitution of farm industrial prisons, like Great Meadow, for the old-fashioned, tomb-like stone structures such as Sing Sing.

At the Prison Exhibit in New York City, referred to in The Outlook last week, much space was devoted to exhibits illustrating the unfitness of Sing Sing. A facsimile of a Sing Sing cell was exhibited (a picture appears on another page) and placarded with an excerpt from a Grand Jury report in 1911 to the effect that "the cells at Sing Sing are unfit for the housing of animals—much less human beings." There are twelve hundred such cells in the Sing Sing cell block, each containing only 168 cubic feet of air, only about a third of what the New York health authorities have stated to be the requirement of one human being. Yet during the year 1914–15 daily from two hundred and fifty to six hundred men were "doubled up," two being forced to share one of these cramped rooms—not much larger than the interior of a taxicab.

The exhibit also showed three fresh tomatoes and one and a half ears of green corn—the total fresh vegetable allowance to each prisoner at Sing Sing per annum. As an argument for the elimination of worn-out prisons like Sing Sing and the establishment of the farm industrial type of institution placards were shown at the exhibit pointing out that the twenty-nine road camps for prisoners in 1914 resulted in the building of one hundred miles of good State roads and in the mental, moral, and physical invigoration of hundreds of prisoners.

THE ARIZONA COPPER MINES

For more than nineteen weeks, and until last week, there was a strike of copper-miners in Arizona—but virtually without violence.

When we speak of copper-mining in America, we think first of all of the great district in northern Michigan operated by the Calumet and Hecla and other concerns. But there is also an important small district in eastern Arizona operated by the Arizona Copper Company, the Detroit Copper Mining Company, and the Shannon Copper Company. The three companies employ some five thousand miners, over two-thirds of whom are Mexicans.

On September 12, 1915, the miners struck for higher wages. One reason for this may have been that their leaders knew of the greater demand and the higher prices for the products of mines; another was that, despite the sliding scale introduced eight months ago, by which labor of all classes received higher pay than ever before, wages, it was alleged, were lower than in some other Arizona camps. The real reason for the strike was, according to the statement of Mr. Walter Douglas, General Manager for Messrs. Phelps, Dodge & Co., New York City, who operate in Arizona, the desire for "the unionization of a camp that in the past has never discriminated against any man on account of his affiliation." Mr. Douglas proceeds:

> The Western Federation of Miners, aiming at political domination of the State, introduced its agitators and organizers into the district, knowing that Mexican workmen are easily led and more easily intimidated, and has exercised its arbitrary and despotic methods to bring suffering and loss on a formerly happy and contented community.

This real reason for the strike was indicated not only by the banners inscribed "*Viva la Union*" and borne by the Mexicans, but also by the fact that an agent of the Western Federation of Miners called the strike, though, it is said, without the Federation's authority. Indeed, the Federation treasury was unable to pay out money for strike benefits. Hence thousands of strikers, with their wives and children, became dependent on the good nature and the confidence of shopkeepers, who as the strike progressed were forced, one by one, to shut up shop and leave the district. The miners have been feeling the pinch of starvation. The Outlook was not surprised, therefore, to receive a despatch from the Hon. George W. P. Hunt, Governor of Arizona, under date of

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January 25, that "an amicable settlement is being reached to-day."

FOUR MONTHS OF STRIKE

How much the settlement marks an advance in the unionization of labor we do not know. The Bisbee, Arizona, "Review" of January 12, however, records the unanimous vote of the strikers to withdraw from the Western Federation of Miners, and to apply to the State Federation of Labor for membership.

But the outstanding feature is that a strike lasting nineteen weeks and more has been managed without violence. In making this record Governor Hunt, of Arizona, and Sheriff Cash, of Greenlee County, deserve National prominence.

When the miners struck, overawing the companies' guards, they placed pickets in the mines, converters, power-houses, and smelters. The companies, perforce withdrawing their own watchmen, called upon the sheriff to protect their properties now seemingly in the control of the Western Federation of Miners. At first the strikers seemed desperate, and the managers of the three companies, fearing bloodshed if they remained, went to New Mexico, where they were arrested on the charge of being fugitives from justice—a travesty of law, they claim. They were discharged for lack of evidence. When the sheriff signified his apprehension that violence might occur, Governor Hunt, who had already sent an agent to investigate, detailed the adjutant-general in command of some militiamen to control the district. Meanwhile the sheriff started up the electric plants, relieving the darkness of three nights, and persuaded the strikers to allow the mine mules to be fed and hoisted to the surface. Owing to the apathy of the county Board of Supervisors, the sheriff was helped during the first part of the strike by only four deputies with whom to control the district. He appointed several strikers as deputy sheriffs and sent them to guard the abandoned mine properties, and, what is more, the companies paid their wages as deputies and watchmen. Thus these men appeared in two rôles—as strikers and as deputy sheriffs. First they threatened and then they guarded! Thus the situation was not without an element of humor.

A GOVERNOR WITH GRIT

The Governor's first efforts were directed towards bringing about an arbitration of differences between employers and employees. But every effort in this direction came to naught, owing chiefly, according to the Governor's statement to The Outlook, to the seeming unwillingness of the mine managers to make any compromise settlement pursuant to their workmen's propositions repeatedly submitted. When it was felt that the strike was to be indefinitely prolonged, the Governor turned his attention to safeguarding life and property. In the first place, he announced that he would not tolerate any importation of hired thugs and gunmen in the capacity of strike-breakers, and that this was absolutely necessary, not only to preserve order between the two sides, but also to protect peaceful residents in the exercise of their ordinary rights and privileges. Such a course was of the greatest wisdom. Hired strike-breakers and private armed guards are generally a sure presage of violence.

The Governor detailed the militia to help the sheriff, then assisted the workingmen in soliciting, gathering, and distributing necessary supplies for needy families of wage-earners; in a broadly humanitarian, unpartisan way, by circulating an accurate account of actual conditions; and by issuing a proclamation inviting contributions to the relief fund.

Despite all the foregoing facts, without a certain morale or inclination to orderliness on the part of the best workmen, bloodshed and vandalism might easily have occurred. But it did not. The average workingman, it was shown, even when on strike for what seem to be his rights, is not likely to be an outlaw or a vandal. In connection with this Governor Hunt pays the following compliment to union labor in his letter to us:

> In virtually every instance the union officials responded to my urgent admonitions against disorderliness, and many went so far as actively to assist in preventing lawlessness. Instead of being cast against organized government and communal peace, the labor unions' influence became an important ally in the discouragement of overt acts. Thus the nature and extent of the union workingmen's co-operation as a factor in one of the most serious industrial troubles that ever arose in the United States may be readily realized, and so far as I am concerned in my official capacity is gratefully acknowledged.

Let us learn that other disagreements between employers and employees culminating in a temporary cessation of industry may be settled peacefully and justly, as the Ari-

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zona strike is being settled. Why have more chapters of carnage in our country's industrial history like that at East Youngstown? Here was also a foreign population to manage. They were managed; and human rights, whether of employers or employed, were placed above mere mercenary claims.

A FRENCH VIEW OF MR. FORD

It is often easier to forgive an outright enemy than a well-intentioned but blundering friend. The enemy may defeat us, but the mistaken friend can make us ridiculous, and that is the greater humiliation. Perhaps for this reason, it is surprising to find in France so clear an estimation of the purposes and motives behind Mr. Ford's quixotic adventures in the area of the European war. The view of the Paris "Temps" of his adventures shows surprising penetration and breadth of comprehension. We translate from a recent editorial in that excellent journal:

"Mr. Henry Ford, the American millionaire, is a man to be pitied. He has lost his dearest and greatest illusions. His 'peace ark' so prettily decorated with symbolic doves has not been shipwrecked; it has not even been touched by a torpedo from a German submarine, like a Lusitania or a Persia, but it lies abandoned in some port, never more to know the enthusiastic homage of the crowd which from the docks of New York celebrated with songs its departure for the Old World. The expedition organized by Mr. Ford with the purpose of re-establishing peace among the peoples of Europe is definitely scattered and dispersed. Its chief has returned to the United States, abandoning his fifty reporters, his three moving-picture operators, his organizers, his scene-shifters, and the orators who followed in his train.

"It is a swift and lamentable conclusion to an adventure which brought a new note into the great drama which has overturned the civilized world, and perhaps Mr. Ford did not merit the sarcastic remarks with which his undertaking was greeted. That which he wished to do was impossible, and the means which he adopted to accomplish his wild purpose were bound violently to shock European minds. This idea of an American millionaire that, with a peace mission organized like a traveling troupe, with interviews, films, and publicity, he could convince sovereigns, governments, and nations fighting for their existence merely by making speeches, showed such ignorance of the people and the institutions of our continent that we were moved to ask how it could have been born and established in the brain of a citizen of free America. And quite naturally we attributed to this transatlantic millionaire somewhat dubious intentions.

"Let us confess it. We were wrong! Mr. Henry Ford is an honest man, and he has one virtue for which we can give him credit without reserve. He has confessed that he has been the dupe and victim of his illusions. This frankness is a rarer thing than we have been accustomed to believe; above all, among millionaires. He has recognized that, contrary to his first belief, it is the people under arms who wish to continue the war and not the American manufacturers who furnish them arms and munitions. He acknowledges, too, that the members of his expedition thought more of going on a junket at his expense than of re-establishing peace in the world. Mr. Ford has been fooled by himself and by others and he feels hurt, for it is always discouraging to discover shabby calculation in the actions of mankind when one attempts to serve, even with supreme clumsiness, a noble ideal.

"Moreover, his adventure was not useless. Better, perhaps, than wise treatises, it will serve to establish firmly certain ideas among the people of the United States and elsewhere. There are many in the countries in which they do not feel the war directly who imagine that it is possible to create a sentiment in favor of the conclusion of hostilities, just as they create in ordinary times a sentiment in favor of no-matter-what political conception. And when they wish, like Mr. Ford, to undertake something of this kind, when they wish to try their luck even with means less naïve than an ark decorated with doves and a train of reporters and moving-picture men, they will discover suddenly this moving and profound reality which for seventeen months has entered into our souls, and they will comprehend finally why the allied nations have resolved to continue fighting until victory or death is their portion. The lesson is a valuable one, even for a man who has paid the price of bitter and sharp disillusionment, for it is not wholly a misfortune, in truth, that the outside world should learn that mere words are vain things among those who serve their country with a sacrifice of heart, flesh, and blood."

If France as a whole judges all Americans as fairly as the "Temps" has judged Mr.

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Ford, that is all that we have a right to expect from our sister Republic.

GERMAN LOGIC

Mr. Garet Garrett, a special correspondent of the New York "Times" in Berlin, is publishing in that excellent newspaper a series of articles in which he is endeavoring frankly to interpret to American readers the German point of view with regard to the war. He does not accept this point of view, but he is succeeding in making some confused aspects of it unusually clear. In his prefatory article in the issue of the Sunday "Times" for January 23 he says, we think accurately, that the modern German mind is intensely logical. "The Germans have no hypocrisy. They have logic. Once accepted, they never question their premises, and therefore they have no stopping-places." This is why the German, on the one hand, and the Frenchman, the Englishman, or the American, on the other, take such antipodal points of view with regard to some of the great and critical events of the war. For this reason the average American cannot understand how it is possible for a cultivated and essentially kind-hearted German university professor to defend with intellectual honesty the invasion of Belgium, the destruction of the Lusitania, and the cold-blooded shooting of Edith Cavell.

The premise of the German people is that it is the divine mission of Germany to establish efficiency and organization in Europe, perhaps even throughout the world, and that in doing this she is bound to defend herself against jealous and obstructive enemies. The German deduction from this premise is that all those who stand in the way of such a divine mission must be ruthlessly destroyed. Logically to the German the invasion of Belgium, the sinking of the Lusitania, and the destruction of Louvain and the Cathedral at Rheims are as essential as the blowing up of an enemy's fortress, and are to be regarded only with that regret with which one regards any other military action; for the German does not kill emotionally, he kills scientifically.

It is apparently as difficult for the German to understand hot emotional killing as it is for the Anglo-Saxon to understand cold and unemotional killing. The German who gave the signal that launched the torpedo that destroyed the Lusitania had probably no conscious individual emotion in the act.

This kind of killing does not seem to the German to be murder. On the other hand, the case of the Baralong, in which the crew of an English war vessel is alleged to have shot the sailors of a German submarine while they were swimming for their lives after having attacked an innocent merchant vessel, really seems to the German mind to be a case of murder because "it does not come within the logic of military necessity," while Mr. Garrett points out that to the emotional understanding of Frenchmen and Americans it is as comprehensible as the hot and passionate shooting down of cruel savages.

Mr. Garrett adds that, while this logical attitude towards the war on the part of Germany is generally severe and exact, he has in certain instances found flaws in it. For example, a German military expert will assert that Germany can never invade the United States, because an overseas country can be invaded only when it is very weak, and therefore permits the landing of transports; but the same German officer in the same breath will ask why the people of the United States are so blind to the fact that before long they will have to defend their Pacific coast against an inevitable invasion by Japan. Here is a very apparent flaw in logic, says Mr. Garrett. "Germany could not cross the Atlantic to invade the United States. Japan could cross the Pacific and do it."

Or, again, a German university professor will defend the right of German-Americans assembled in mass-meetings in New York City to denounce the President of the United States and to cheer the Kaiser, but cannot imagine a mass-meeting in Berlin in which American-Germans will be permitted to denounce the Emperor and cheer the President. "You must remember," says the professor, "that an emperor and a president are by no means the same. It is possible, and not improper, to criticise a President. You cannot publicly criticise an Emperor."

"Well, then," you say, "let us have a perfect analogy. You cannot imagine in France a mass-meeting at which the people should denounce the French President and cheer the German Kaiser." "Sir," says the Herr Professor, "your analogy hinders understanding."

In spite of these slight flaws of logic, it is clearly the logical reasoning more than the specific acts of the present rulers of Germany which makes them dangerous to all that the American holds dear in modern civilization. Their acts are scientifically correct, if their premises are true. The Outlook takes

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this occasion to repeat that it is unalterably opposed, not to the German people, but to the social, political, and military philosophy that moved them to begin the European war and to carry it on on a basis unprecedented, perhaps, in the history of mankind since the militaristic period of the ancient Hebrew nation as especially recorded in the Book of Judges.

"DIE ZUKUNFT"

It is announced that the famous German paper "Die Zukunft" (The Future) has been totally suppressed. This seems a pity. Even to its enemies it was always worth reading. Prince von Bülow, whom it often attacked as Chancellor, has said that he never missed an issue.

Its editor was Maximilian Harden, a man too independent to belong to any party. That was his paper's greatest asset—absolute independence. To this Herr Harden added the impression of one always working behind the scenes; of one whose words were not only incisive but waspish; and, finally, of one whose style was in itself worth noting, no matter what the audacity necessary to champion the particular cause in question. For instance, read this from "Die Zukunft" of May 22, 1915, concerning the Britons:

Germans who on the Rigi have once sat beside a Liverpool tailor disguised as a lord, Germans who gather their wisdom from the humorous sheets, think they know Britain and the British. And this is their idea of Englishmen: Sneakish and cowardly; stiff, grouchy, or spleeny; without a longing for Kultur; only a craze for sports and greed in their heads—that, roughly, is the popular picture.

Because the Briton loves sports and spends almost as much time playing golf or football as the German does in drinking beer he is ridiculed. Is the Englishman silly because he is anxious that his county should win in the cricket match? Does not his play which steels the body serve his fatherland?

Did you ever go into Hyde Park and there see the hundreds of sturdy, white-haired old men riding briskly on horseback? And the young girls and old ladies in the West End; the workmen with their children on the playgrounds? Look at them, and compare them with the thin-blooded, prematurely withered, overfattened, and wabbling figures you meet at every step in the Continental cities!

The Briton, cheerful, healthy, and brave, was quick to realize that only the strong can conquer the world, and he procured for himself the hygiene which is necessary to a nation confined most of the time to factories and offices, lest it die away.

And read this from a number of a few weeks ago concerning the idea that the war had been forced on Germany:

No! We willed it so that we might complete the edifice of the German Empire. We wanted to do it. . . . Why not say so frankly?

And later, when the editor of "Die Zukunft" wanted to show that it was much more difficult to end a war than to begin it, he exclaimed: "To-day we should begin to treat for peace while the situation is *still* favorable."

As to Russia:

I have never believed that a separate peace was possible, and it is less possible with Russia than with any other Power. The Russians know that their army is strong to-day, with millions and millions of men, that they have millions more ready to come to the front, and that in early spring a formidable army will take the offensive against us, that Russia has from henceforth the best cannons, ammunition, which have ever been made in Russia or Japan or America.

Then as to France:

From the Catholics to the most extreme Socialists everywhere among Frenchmen there is the same tone of absolute confidence in victory. The same language is heard in England and Russia. Why should we persist in trying to make the German people believe that our enemies are exhausted and are only thinking of peace?

Such words come from a man who has undergone three trials for *lèse majesté* and has spent a year as a prisoner in a Prussian fortress. He has suffered in other ways for his convictions. But at least it may be said that he obtained for his paper a certain popularity which no other German publication possesses. Its articles may have hurt those whom they were intended to hurt. But they have never been boresome, and they have always shown an independence which is, we should like to think, significant of Germany's future.

THE PINE BLISTER RUST

There is perhaps no more valuable National possession than our white pine trees. Even at the very low prices now prevailing the value of those trees cannot be less than four hundred and fifty million dollars. Hence when we read of a peril to that possession

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the whole Nation should "sit up and take notice."

The peril was pointed out in a paper by Mr. H. T. Fernald, the Massachusetts State Nursery Inspector, read at the recent meeting of the American Forestry Association in Boston. Mr. Fernald gave desirable and necessary publicity to a fact hitherto not generally known; namely, that, as our chestnut trees have been attacked by a dreadful and destructive disease, our immensely more valuable white pine forest is in similar danger. The disease comes from Europe, and has attacked the five-leaved pines there, the white and sugar pines—most other pines are three-leaved.

We might do much towards eliminating the disease by forbidding the importation of the five-leaved pines from Europe. This has been done. But the disease is already present in half a dozen of our States. There is the desirability of prohibiting nursery stock carried from one State to another where there is any question of the disease; there is a still greater necessity of dealing with stock infected but still remaining in nurseries. Of course the nursery inspectors of each State are carefully watching all pines, and there is perhaps not much to be feared from the distribution of disease in this direction. The real opportunity in preventing the disease comes from its own life history. It appears that it completes only one portion of its life in the pine; the remainder is completed in the leaves of near-by currant or gooseberry bushes. Hence the necessity of keeping those bushes at a distance from the pines in order that the disease may die out.

As this so-called "pine blister rust" gives every promise of being the most serious menace to the five-leaved pines of our country which has yet been met with, the American Forestry Association added to its other services to the country by recommending cooperation by Congress with State action in order to protect our pines. As the disease, undiscovered, may be lurking in many a locality, the first duty is to make a thorough survey. The Forestry Association is organizing a conference to urge upon the members of Congress the necessity for immediate action. We hope that Congress will appropriate the sum asked—$50,000; a measure to this end has now been introduced. It is necessary in the effort to suppress this menace to one of our most valuable possessions.

CHURCH UNION IN CANADA

The negotiations for union between the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches of Canada have taken another step, whether in advance or retreat it is hard at the present moment to say. The Methodist and Congregational Churches have for some time shown themselves ready to proceed with the act of union. The matter has dragged over several sessions of the Presbyterian General Assembly, and when it came to a vote last year it was carried by a surprisingly large majority. But before final negotiations for union could take place the question had to be submitted to the people for the second time. The result was 53,000 for union out of a total vote of a little less than 240,000, with only Winnipeg Presbytery to hear from, when it is expected that the majority for union will be increased.

The vote showed that the West was strongly for union, while in the older provinces those tenacious for their denomination showed great strength. The West appreciates the need of some drastic movement to enable the churches to cope with the work of ministering to the settlers and the immigrants that have been pouring westward, and the difficulties of finding suitable supplies for the home mission fields have been greatly increased by the present war, as so many probationers and young ministers have enlisted and are serving as chaplains or as soldiers.

In spite of the large favorable majority, the large adverse vote of 93,156 now recorded by the Presbyterians will, some contend, give the quietus to all further discussions for union; while the favorable vote of three-fifths of the members, the present demands on the ministry, and the spirit of the leaders, indicate that the time has come to take the forward step. The matter will now come up for final action in the General Assembly, which meets next June in Winnipeg.

"HIGHER EDUCATION BY MOTOR TRUCK"

A bulletin recently sent out by the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce is entitled "Higher Education by Motor Truck." It shows a new and very interesting use to which motor transportation has been applied. "How to give farmers' boys and girls a high school education without sending them from home," reads the bulletin, "is a problem of long standing that is now being solved by the motor truck." The explanation then is made

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that in a number of localities in various sections of the country the educational boards have decided that one efficient, thorough school, corresponding with a city high school, serves a better purpose than several small schools in scattered localities and with limited teaching facilities. The lead was taken in California, where five adjoining school districts combined their resources, established one large high school, with excellent teachers, and then purchased two motor trucks, equipped with seats for passengers, and each school day transported their pupils to and from school. In at least a half-dozen other sections of the country this example has been followed and union high schools are in successful operation. The most recent union high school to be established on this plan was near the center of Long Island.

"These motor vehicles," reads the bulletin of the automobile commercial body, "are driven over certain routes through all the districts to pick up the pupils in the morning and take them to the school-house, returning with them over the same route for a hot lunch and taking them home again after school. In some cases the older high school boys are hired to drive. It has been found that the union school, with its transportation features, can be maintained more cheaply than separate schools in the several districts and that better instruction can be given by special high school teachers than by district school teachers."

THE PREPAREDNESS WE BELIEVE IN

A National leader in the movement for preparedness was asked by one of his auditors the question, "What enemy do you anticipate for whom you wish us to prepare?" "Madam," he replied, "if you will tell me what storms the captain of the Atlantic liner anticipated that he provided his steamer with lifeboats, I will tell you what enemy I anticipate." This is the argument for preparedness in a sentence. It is the duty of the Nation to prepare, not merely for probable perils, but for possible perils, and no one can aver that there is for America no possible peril of war.

We propose in this editorial, however, to state a little more fully why we think there is a need of preparation for the fulfillment of our National duty and what that need is. What the preparation should be we leave for future consideration.

I. During the last two years American citizens have been put in peril of their lives by foreign enemies. American women have been violated, hundreds of American men and women have been killed, and American property of great but unestimated value has been destroyed. These outrages have been perpetrated by bandits in Mexico, by piratical craft on the open sea, and by secret emissaries of a foreign Power on American soil. Some eloquent things have been said in protest; nothing effective has been done for protection except against the enemies on our own soil. For these crimes against our fellow-citizens no excuse has ever been offered. They were unoffending citizens, peaceably pursuing their lawful occupations, generally unarmed, depending, as in past history Americans have depended, on the protection promised them by their Government. Their dependence has proved vain. The remedy proposed has been that in America they should discontinue lawful industries to which our enemies object; that in travel upon the sea they should avoid ships which our enemies proscribe; that if they could escape from Mexico they should escape, leaving their property to be destroyed and such of their companions as could not flee to be massacred.

Charity requires us to believe that the failure of the Administration to furnish protection has been due, not to indifference, but to the belief either that the people did not wish to protect their fellow-citizens in the enjoyment of their natural rights, or else that the Government was not equipped with the power necessary to afford that protection. The President has now distinctly affirmed that the Government has not that power. He has asked for additional legislation to enable the Federal Government to protect its citizens in the pursuit of their lawful business from the incendiary and the assassin at home and for additional appropriations to enable it to protect its citizens from criminal assault abroad. Preparedness means that Congress should speedily equip its Executive with this power. The nation which is wealthy enough to protect its citizens from criminal assault and fails to furnish such protection is criminally negligent of its first and most fundamental duty.

II. Whether this country is in danger of attack from any foreign Power we do not know. We do not think any one knows or

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can know. In 1855 few Americans thought there was any danger of civil war in America. Even as late as 1860 Henry Ward Beecher declared that there was no such danger. In the spring of 1914 few Europeans and still fewer Americans thought there was any danger of a European war. The pressure of a growing population in some already overcrowded countries, the pledged honor of this country to keep American soil free from conquest by any foreign autocracy, the intensity of a commercial rivalry not likely to grow less intense, the liberty of the press in all free countries and the presence in them all of unscrupulous men willing to use that freedom to excite the baser passions of their readers, all furnish elements of peril to which it would be criminal folly to shut our eyes.

The Outlook believes in preparedness against war: by encouraging and promoting emigration from the overpopulated to the underpopulated countries; by securing the co-operation of the South American republics in the fulfillment of the pledge to keep American soil free from foreign domination; by treaties of reciprocity based on the recognition of the truth that National prosperity is best promoted by international co-operation; by the development of a public sentiment in America to discountenance and counteract yellow journalism; by the development of a spirit of internationalism which will make possible the settlement of controversies between civilized nations by law instead of war. But meanwhile it is the duty of America to equip itself both with courage and with military and naval power to protect the rights of its citizens at home and abroad, on land and on sea, from the bandit and the pirate. Nor is that duty less because the part of bandit and pirate is played in behalf, if not by the authority, of a nation. To assume that the millennium has already come and that all peril from criminal classes has already ceased is to sleep in a fool's paradise with certainty of a rude awakening.

III. Our National duty is not fulfilled if we protect only our fellow-citizens. We also owe a duty to share with other civilized nations in protecting the peace and order of the world as we shared with Great Britain in protecting the world from the slave traffic. We wish to have an adequate army and navy, not as a preparation *for* war, but as a preparation *against* war; as we wish to have a fire department, not as a preparation for fires, but as a preparation against fires.

The way to secure peace is clearly pointed out by history.

So long as every man is left to defend his own rights against attack, every man goes armed and war is chronic and continuous. Men learn from experience that the best assurance of self-protection is mutual protection. They combine in a tribe, then in a confederacy of tribes, and so the state grows into being. The state arms to protect the individual and the individual lays down his arms. We go unarmed in our American cities because there is an armed police to protect us. Self-defense ceases to be necessary when we organize for mutual defense. When that organization fails, self-defense is resumed. When the State fails to protect the factory from the mob, the factory arms its own workingmen. The result of disarmament by the State is not peace, but private and lawless war. The Federal Nation carries a step further this method of preparedness against war. Forty-eight States unite for mutual protection, and therefore have no longer the same need for self-protection. This combination of States agrees to defend each individual State against assaults from without and against revolution within. We have had one civil war in this country during the last century and a quarter, and that was due to an attempt to break up this mutual insurance company against war. How many wars have devastated European states during the same time, from the Napoleonic wars to this last and greatest war of all time!

We wish to see this country enter into a confederacy with other peace-loving countries for mutual protection. We wish to see them unite in a movement to secure international peace on the principles and in the spirit by which peace has been secured in the Nation and in the Federal Republic. We wish to see America agree to submit its controversies with such nations to the arbitrament of an international court, to combine with such nations in an agreement for mutual protection, and to be prepared to furnish for that purpose such military and naval forces as may be necessary for the world's protecion against banditti on the land and pirates on the sea.

That is what we mean by preparedness.

Preparedness to protect our own citizens from assault.

Preparedness to protect our Nation from assault.

Preparedness to join with other nations in

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protecting all peace-loving nations from assault.

Both pacifists and anti-pacifists are in favor of preparedness against war. Their methods are different. The Declaration of Independence affirms that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are inalienable rights; and the Constitution of the United States declares that the Union of States is formed to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

Mr. Bryan and Senator Gore propose to prepare against war by alienating these inalienable rights and abandoning this National duty. They propose to refuse protection to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to those whom the Nation has been organized to protect. They propose to surrender the life and liberty of Americans who choose to remain in Mexico or who are compelled to do so; to surrender the right of Americans to travel the high seas in ships of their own choosing, and for this purpose to refuse them passports, and, if this is not enough, to make such travel illegal; and to prohibit Americans from making munitions of war or other material which may directly or indirectly help the soldiers in the field; and there are those who would go even further and prepare against war by dismantling our fortifications, turning our fleet into merchant vessels, and disbanding our army. Sometimes a little puppy dog, seeing a big dog approaching, turns over on his back and holds up his four paws as a sign of surrender. It is his preparedness against war. This is what the policy of disarmament proposes to the American people.

We believe that this policy would be not only a cowardly surrender of National rights—that might perhaps be defended—but a criminal abandonment of National duty, and that cannot be defended.

We believe also that the first and fundamental duty of the American Nation is to protect the inalienable rights of American citizens at home and abroad, on land and on sea; its second duty is to unite with other peace-loving nations in an international league to protect those rights of the citizen of the world everywhere, and to make whatever provision of land and naval forces may be necessary to accomplish this wholly pacific and beneficent purpose. To neglect this duty is not to promote peace; it is to invite war.

READING HISTORY AS WE RUN

History might, perhaps, be defined by the average American as the record of somebody else's country. If this is too sweeping a statement, it can be safely said that Mr. Average American is only too ready to regard our history as something devoid of the color and interest which attach to the story of the Old World. Partly this is due to the fact that romance, like the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow, seems always to lie just beyond the grasp of familiarity. Partly it is due to the fact, paradoxical as it may sound, that we are not familiar enough with the events of the past which have gone to make up the bone and sinew of the Nation which we know to-day. It is time, indeed, that we should learn to link our past with our present, and value correctly our own efforts by the achievements of the men who played their part in laying the foundations of this Nation of one hundred million souls. If our American history had occupied its rightful place in our schools, if American history even in the space allotted to it had been told without bombast and partisanship, as a Nation we would better understand the concrete problems which confront our Government to-day.

Aside from all future reform in our system of teaching history, there does exist an opportunity of bringing back to those who have passed out from under the school-house roof a realization of what they owe to the makers of America. Naturally enough, there is no royal road to learning, but it occurs to us that our railways might very well be used as a democratic equivalent of the long-sought path, and used in a manner fully in accord with that American-made slogan, "It Pays to Advertise." Why not supplement the billboard education which our travelers now receive in regard to the comparative merits of different brands of chewing-gum with information concerning the historical significance of that very earth which now seems suited only to supporting the flaring gonfalons of modern business?

Our continent, which witnessed the long struggle of France, Spain, and England for the control of its rivers and its shores; which followed the great adventurous spirits of Marquette and La Salle; which witnessed the sufferings of the Jesuits in the northern snows; which knew Ponce de Leon in his search for the waters of eternal youth; which

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watched the steady western drive of a new people against the forces of nature and the resistance of a savage race; which marked the downfall of Pequot, Narragansett, and Seminole, and the destruction of the Creek Confederacy and the authority of the Long House—this continent which has dreamed with an aspiring people the high vision of universal democracy, which has known the suffering of revolution and civil war, is indeed rich in the memorials of a history which need not be forgotten so long as hills loom and rivers run. The history need not be forgotten; yet how many remember? How many who ride from Richmond to Washington can point out the part which those pine-clad slopes lying north and south of the way played in the combats of even half a century ago? How much of history does the Mohawk Valley or the Santa Fé trail mean to the American traveler drowsing over the newspaper story of the great war across the seas?

The opportunity to make our history real is one which might well fall within the field of the advertising departments of our railways. The project we have in mind might well be made good business as well as good Americanism. A little corner of some billboard devoted to the interests of the latest things in chocolate or tobacco might very conceivably be spared to give room to a symbol indicating, for instance, the fact that the traveler in his steel coach is passing near the spot where Washington and his Continentals forced their way through the icy waters of the Delaware. The marking of places of historic interest need not be an expensive procedure, for a simple letter or number having reference to a descriptive leaflet placed, if no better home can be found, in the humble company of the omnipresent sanitary drinking-cup, would be sufficient for the purpose in mind. When he who runs across our continent can read its history as he passes through the land where it was made, we shall have taken at least one important step in the direction of teaching our citizens the fact that our democracy represents something more than an accidental organism poised in mid-space between a sterile past and an empty future.

MAKING AMERICANS AND DEFENDING AMERICA

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM PHILADELPHIA AND WASHINGTON

THE scene was an assembly hall on the tenth floor of the New Willard Hotel in Washington. The occasion was the final public meeting of the National Security Congress. The day was Saturday, January 22. The ball-room adjoining, where all but one of the other meetings had been held, was closed in preparation for the banquet to be held there in the evening; and the smaller assembly hall was therefore crowded with men and women, most of them wearing delegates' badges. Every chair was occupied, and men were standing along the wall in the rear. The last address in the afternoon programme had been delivered, and the first of the set of resolutions, prepared after a twelve-hour continuous session of the Committee on Resolutions from the scores of resolutions submitted by delegates, had been freely discussed and was ready for the vote of the Congress. The resolution advocated a National citizen soldiery provided by universal training.

As the chairman, Mr. Menken, put the question there was a chorus of "ayes." Where I sat, no vote in the negative was audible. The chairman pronounced the vote unanimous.

Then from the side of the hall rose a thick-set, gray-haired man, who shouted: "You heard me vote no! I'm from Indiana. I believe I have the rights of a delegate. That vote was not unanimous."

Mr. Menken, assuring the irate delegate from Indiana that he had not heard his vote, agreed to put the question again, genially adding: "We'll take care of Indiana."

"No, you won't," shouted the delegate, and he advanced a step, menacing the chairman with his forefinger; "Indiana will take care of herself!"

The self-complacency of that remark has been typical of the American people. It is not only Indiana that has thought it could take care of itself, but every other State. And not only the States, but the various

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groups within the States. The capitalist, the wage-worker, the farmer, the native-born, the city official, each has thought that the group that he represents could take care of itself without any aid. And even the Nation as a whole has been inclined to think that no great disaster could imperil it; that it always has been able to take care of itself without preparation, and that it always will be. Now the war in Europe has begun to awaken us. Some have awakened earlier than others, and these are the leaders. It is because these leaders see the danger in American self-complacency that they called two important meetings—one the National Security Congress, which met in Washington on January 20, 21, and 22; the other, immediately preceding and overlapping it, the National Conference on Immigration and Americanization, which met in Philadelphia at the house of Mr. and Mrs. E. T. Stotesbury, the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, and the Metropolitan Opera-House, on January 19 and 20. The Philadelphia meeting was under the auspices of the National Americanization Committee, and the credit for the Conference is largely due to Miss Frances Kellor. The Washington meeting was under the auspices of the National Security League, and the credit for the Congress is largely due to Mr. S. S. Menken.

The stability and importance of these conferences may be judged from the character of the men of National reputation who participated in them. At the Philadelphia conference there were such men as Mr. Frank Trumbull, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway, who is Chairman of the Americanization Committee; Governor Brumbaugh, of Pennsylvania; President John Finley, of the University of the State of New York, who is at the head of the State educational system; and President John H. Fahey, of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. At the Washington conference there were such men as Robert Bacon and David Jayne Hill, former American Ambassadors; Henry L. Stimson, George von L. Meyer, Luke E. Wright, and George W. Wickersham, former members of the Cabinet; Justice Stockbridge, of the Maryland Court of Appeals; and George Haven Putnam, the well-known publisher, Civil War veteran, and advocate of peace and of preparedness.

In the light of the fires that are sweeping over Europe these leaders have seen two sources of American weakness: one laying the country open to dangers from within, the other from without. If America is to survive, it must, on the one hand, see to it that all who live in America are Americans. That will overcome the weakness within that is due to disloyalty, double allegiance, lack of National patriotism, ignorance of National duty. On the other hand, if America is to survive, it must see to it that it is prepared to repel and overcome outside aggression. That will overcome its weakness without that is due to lack of arms, ignorance of international problems, and lack of training in the methods of defense. To express the two ways for strengthening the Nation two long words have been adopted. The one is Americanization, the other Preparedness.

No one who attended the meetings could for a moment imagine that they were antagonistic. They supplemented each other. The best preparedness is that which comes from common loyalty, and the surest proof of Americanization is willingness to sacrifice all for the common defense.

An illustration of the spirit of disunion and suspicion which Americans must combat was furnished by two of the contributors to the discussion at the Americanization Conference. In a letter Mr. Frank P. Walsh virtually accused by name several men on the Americanization Committee of suppressing any suggestion that the trade union was a means for Americanization because their attitude to their own employees was that of men who wished to keep their live stock well fed that they may work the harder. The other case was furnished by Professor von Mach, who retailed a story about a little German boy whose nurse threatened to cut out his tongue because he refused to say he was English. These appeals to class distrust and racial antipathy without the slightest foundation of proof served a useful purpose in illustrating the need of real Americanization.

And that some business men realize the need of Americanization was shown in a session led by Mr. Finch, of Rochester, New York.[1] The subject was that of teaching English to foreigners; and one of those who took part in the discussion was a young man who had been sent to the Americanization Conference at the expense of a manufacturing concern in Cleveland in order that he might be made more proficient in working

[1] An article by a staff correspondent of The Outlook describing the revolutionary work of Mr. Finch, who is in charge of the courses for immigrants under the Rochester Board of Education, will appear in an early issue.

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for the Americanization of the foreign-born in that company's employ.

Neither of the conferences was given over to oratory. Indeed, there was very little oratory at either. The addresses and papers delivered made no mild demand on one's powers of attention. To listen intelligently was like following a series of college lectures. Each might well have been part of a university extension course. The emphasis was on facts, information, the testimony of experts. In the Americanization Conference there was little emotional appeal to sympathy with the pathetic figure of the distracted immigrant, but rather information as to the difficulties he encounters, the obstacles in his way to becoming a loyal American, and the various undertakings to speed him on his way, to combat swindlers and other enemies of his, and to educate native-born Americans to understand him and share the common lot with him.

Especially was this appeal to the mind rather than the emotions characteristic of the National Security Congress. One of the speakers, Mr. Ross, counseled his hearers to this method when they dispersed to their homes. "Our citizens do not scare worth a cent," he said; "but be patient. They will come to our conclusions. They are slow, but when they arrive they will stay." That was the faith on which the whole Congress was clearly based.

But, though oratory was the exception, there was abundant eloquence—the eloquence of great and impressive facts. When Mary Antin, at the Americanization Conference, told her fellow-Americans that in the Ghettos of Europe the young women were pure, but that here in America there were thousands of Jewish outcasts, and asked, "What have you done to our Jewish women?" there was the eloquence of an impressive fact that needed no rhetoric. When Mr. Frederic L. Huidekoper, an authority on the military history of the United States, told in the Security Congress how a superior force of Americans had let the British burn the National Capitol, how, with one exception, every war we had fought was with the odds from two against one to thirty against one in our favor, how time after time Americans had gone to meet death because their Government had failed them, there was the bare eloquence of fact without a trace of rhetoric. And when at the culmination of the Congress Mr. Eric Fisher Wood (who as attaché of the American Embassy in Paris saw the devastation and terror of war and the efficiency of military machines) told his hearers what invasion meant, not merely in the suffering of the soldiers, but in the hunted look of women's faces, contrasted the condition of Belgium with that of the peace-loving, rifle-carrying Swiss, and set forth in simple language the measures that would make the security of America as certain as that of Switzerland, he never once approached rhetoric or oratory, but the eloquence of his simple, judicial statement was attested by the response from his audience, whose applause broke into cheers. So throughout the Security Congress there was little jingoism or spread-eagleism (two Senators furnished the only exception) and absolutely no sign of any remotest desire for militarism, but rather statements of facts and figures showing the defenselessness of the country, the price in blood and treasure that the Nation has paid in the past for being unready and uninsured, and the way in which a democracy can not only keep its democratic institutions but preserve them against aggression.

Each conference was a summons to the best kind of courage. The Philadelphia conference invoked the spirit of courage to fight the swindler and fraud, who is perhaps the most persistent enemy of the immigrant who really wants to become American; and not the least inspiriting instance of this sort of summons was an account given of the way in which the United States Postal Savings Bank has invaded the domain of the bogus banker and captured his territory in the interest of the immigrant.

But it is not merely against such dangers from within that the country has to provide, but also against dangers from without. And these dangers were dealt with frankly but with restraint in the meetings at Washington.

More than once it was pointed out that modern war arises suddenly, that there are Powers whose policies conflict with those of the United States, and that no nation can accurately foresee what aggressive enemy will appear, any more than a police force can tell what particular group of gangsters it will next have to deal with. Perhaps the most impressive statement of America's present danger was made by Mr. William L. Marbury. We to-day are neutral, but neutrality is no defense. On the contrary, it is a source of danger. The neutral, he said, has no friends; there is no more fatal delusion than that

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neutrality is safety. To illustrate this he cited the case of that Power which has brought on this present war—Prussia herself. When Napoleon arose in his ambition to conquer Europe, the allies pleaded with Prussia to join them. No; Prussia was "too proud to fight." Prussia was deaf to the allies then as the United States has been deaf to the allies now. And Napoleon crushed Austria. Meantime doubtless the Prussian people were congratulating themselves that they had a King who "kept them out of the war." Within a few months what happened? Napoleon, having finished with Austria, turned upon neutral Prussia, and took her in her turn alone and left her prostrate. Neutrality is not safety. It was not then. It is not to-day.

With detail and without passion or excitement again and again it was pointed out how the welfare of Americans and America has been in conflict with the desires of other nations from the time of Monroe, when he made his declaration in the face of the unholy Holy Alliance, to the present, when Americans are murdered in Mexico and on the high seas; and again and again it was shown how our coasts lie open to the invader and how our means of repelling him has been unsecured.

It has been said that the sentiment for preparedness is not shared either by women or by wage-workers. Two incidents at the Security Congress throw light on that statement. At one of the afternoon sessions Mrs. Erna Owen spoke for a body of women who are interested in the Junior Naval Reserve for training boys and girls. She pointed out that it was not a woman who wrote "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier." "A man wrote the words," she said, "a man wrote the music; and the only time I heard it sung, a man sang it."

The other incident occurred at the last public meeting. As the resolutions were under discussion, a man stood to speak. The chairman called him to the platform.

"I am," he said, "the only one present who is a wage-worker."

Shouts of "No! no!" came from all over the hall.

"Well," he said in correction, "I am one of only a few."

And then he proceeded to tell of the action of the Federation of Labor in support of National defense. When he said that the only objection raised by wage-workers was in the belief that preparedness was promoted by those interested in munition manufacture, he was interrupted with a storm of disapproving cries.

"Wait," said the chairman; "he is not stating his own belief, but that of others."

The speaker, Mr. Miller, proceeded to confirm what the chairman said, and to assert that if the workingmen were persuaded that there was no profit-seeking in this movement they would be united in support of it. For that reason he urged the Government ownership of munition plants.

As a consequence of his speech the assembly, though not prepared to urge limiting the manufacture of munitions to Government plants, adopted a resolution in favor of Governmental limitation on the profits of munition manufacture. Mr. Miller spoke strongly for the preparedness movement, urging that it be kept democratic.

That the leaders of this movement agree with this representative of the wage-worker and with Mr. Gompers, who expressed the same idea in a letter, was evident throughout the sessions. Mayor Mitchel, of New York City, voiced the common thought when he said that it was useless to build up democracy to its highest estate in this country if democracy could not preserve itself. The whole conference was directed toward this purpose of making the institutions of self-government, not only fit to survive, but *able* to survive. And this is the very reason why the assemblage placed itself on record in favor of a system of universal obligatory military training and service.

My space is too limited to allow me to report at all adequately what was urged on behalf of such a system. Not all were agreed as to details. In general, however, the principles were these: That every American boy, physically and mentally fit, whether rich or poor, should have a definite military training under competent teachers, after the example of the Swiss and Australian democracies, and that he should then be under obligation to serve in defense of his country in times of emergency, whether under arms, or at the wireless telegraph key, or in the hospital, or in any other way he may be fitted to serve, just as he is called upon to pay his taxes or perform any civic duty.

This is not volunteering. That is plain. We do not depend on volunteers for jury duty; we should not for the defense of the country.

This is not conscription. That is drafting men after war begins, and provides, or has

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provided, for buying exemption, so that the rich purchase the right to let the poor fight for them. This system of universal service means that every man is on an equality with every other man.

This is not the system of Germany or other monarchies of Europe. That system takes three of the best years of a man's life and puts him into a military organization; this system trains him as a part of his education.

This is not militarism. As Professor Emery, of Yale, made clear, militarism means an army or navy caste superior to the rest of the population and a military code which allows privileges to the military caste from which the rest of the population is excluded. This system of universal service is simply the civil population under leaders of its own selection prepared and organized to protect itself and its institutions.

And, as Professor Emery also pointed out, so far from being an economic burden, as the monarchical system of Germany is, this is a source of economic strength, for it takes the young man just before he becomes an earner and the head of a family and adds to his education so that, though he may never take part in war, he will by virtue of this training be a better citizen and better producer.

That under such a system not only all the men but all the resources of the country could be utilized was pointed out by men of affairs. This democratic preparedness means the use of the business and manufacturing resources of the country. It means the summoning to the service of the country the experts in all branches—the engineers, for example, as Mr. William Barclay Parsons, the eminent engineer, showed in a thoughtful paper. It means the use of ships, of shipbuilding yards, of railways, of mines, of everything which the people of the country can be called on to contribute to the country's defense. It means union.

In such a cause there ought to be no party lines. But, as Senator Lodge said, with all the more earnestness and power because he is recognized as a party man, if the present parties will not provide for the National defense, a party will arise that can and will.

The resolutions of the Security Congress advocated universal obligatory military training and service; indorsed the efforts of Secretary Garrison to enlarge the army; proposed, in addition, that the mobile army should comprise four infantry divisions as recommended by the War College; recommended the creation of a Council of National Defense, and a General Staff for the navy; indorsed the programme of the General Board of the Navy for restoring the navy to its former position of second in the world; advocated the mobilization of the productive, industrial, and commercial forces of the United States; and committed itself to an effort to unify the various organizations working for an increase in naval and military efficiency.

The spirit of the two conferences at Philadelphia and Washington was a single spirit; and it was appropriately expressed in both of its phases at the great meeting in Philadelphia on Thursday evening. There Father Corrigan, of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, urged that in this whole movement for a more unified America we keep for ourselves and preserve in those who come to us faith in God—whether it be the faith of the Jew, or of the Protestant, or of the Catholic. And there at the same great meeting ex-President Roosevelt expressed that same spirit by taking as his text a saying he had found in an old book, "Fear God and take your own part." To fear God, he said, means to love him and do his will and consider the welfare of your brothers. It is not a matter of words but of deeds. But treat your fellow-men well, not because you fear them, but because you wish them well. And take your own part because otherwise you can never take another's part. Nationalism is a means to internationalism. The most important part of preparedness is that of the spirit and soul. If you put peace ahead of duty, you are unfit to live in a democracy. No nation can secure a peaceful, justice-loving world community unless it is willing to take risks to secure such a world community. One day people were studying social values in Belgium; the next day the people of Belgium had no interest in social values. All that we seek of social justice is worthless if we cannot guard ourselves from outside attack. The larger Americanism demands that we insist that every immigrant shall become an American citizen and nothing else, and that the native-born be also whole-hearted in allegiance; that ahead of safety we put honor and duty. Only thus shall we be fit to be the fathers of a race of freemen "who shall make and keep this land all that it seemed to the prophetic vision of the mighty men who founded it and the mighty men who saved it."

ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT.

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KNOLL PAPERS

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

FRAGMENTS OF KNOWLEDGE

We know in fragments, and we prophesy in fragments.—St. Paul.

I OBJECT to systematic theology, not because it is theology, but because it is systematic. The objection applies equally whether the theology is Roman Catholic or Protestant, Unitarian or Trinitarian, orthodox or agnostic. The attempt to make a topographical map of all truths is certain to be a failure, whether undertaken in the interest of agnosticism by Herbert Spencer or in the interest of orthodoxy by Charles Hodge. We do not know enough to systematize all truth, nor enough to say dogmatically what is unknowable. When Herbert Spencer tells me that the infinite and eternal power from which all things proceed is unknowable, he simply stimulates me to make a try at knowing it, as, when the Indian told John Muir that no one could enter the hitherto unexplored fiord, he simply intensified John Muir's determination to explore it. The maps of the spiritual universe which philosophy assumes to furnish appear to me much like the terrestrial maps of the earlier geographies; the chief difference between the orthodox and the heretical maps is that in the orthodox map imagination supplies what is lacking to knowledge and in the heretical map the unknown continent is not only left unknown but Columbus is told that to set sail for it is useless. I can cordially agree with the agnostic in refusing to accept the phrenological chart of the Eternal which the mediæval Church creeds furnish and yet can seek a personal acquaintance with God and come back to tell my friends what I have learned of the Great Companion.

In the courts the witness is required to swear that he will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. This is apparently what some of my confiding correspondents expect me to do in these Knoll Papers. They expect too much. I can only give them fragments of knowledge. I cannot tell them the whole truth, for I do not know the whole; and when I reflect that some opinions which I held fifty years ago I have now discarded I am not at all confident that I shall tell them nothing but the truth. I am content to know those truths which throw some light on the path of life and help me to take my place and fulfill my allotted task in the great pilgrimage.

Some correspondents ask me to reconcile the existence of sin and suffering with my faith that the universe is under the rule of a beneficent All-Father. I cannot furnish them the desired solution. I can neither with the Christian Scientist conclude that because God is good and God is all in all there is no real evil, nor with the materialist that because there is real evil there can be no good God. I am content with the quite apparent truth that I can do something to mitigate the suffering in the world and something toward the cure of its sin. I can contribute to the Red Cross without knowing why God allows disease, and I can give my hearty sympathy and support to Thomas Mott Osborne in his endeavor to substitute hope for fear as a medicine without knowing why God allows sin.

How to reconcile the sovereignty of God with the free will of man is a problem which has at once perplexed and entertained philosophers in all ages. I am content to leave the problem unsolved. I am neither a Calvinist nor an Arminian. My brother Austin once stated the problem—not its solution—in the following fashion: If, he said, you will give the expert sociologist certain information concerning vital conditions in Great Britain in any one year, he will tell you approximately how many marriages will take place; but every John knows when he proposes to his Jean that he is free to do so. The difference between the Calvinist and the Arminian is a difference in point of view. The one looks at life from the outside and believes in the immutability of law; the other from within and believes in the freedom of his own will. The fatalist gets his harmonious system by denying the freedom and the consequent moral responsibility of man; the atheist gets his harmonious system by denying the existence of law and a lawgiver. I would keep both windows open to the light, get both views—sometimes one, sometimes the other—believe in a community of free

(*Continued on page following illustrations*)

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Current Events Pictorially Treated

PHOTOGRAPH FROM UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

A FAMILY GROUP WHICH CONTAINS A POSSIBLE FUTURE KAISER

This photograph, recently taken, shows the German Empress beside her grandson Prince William Frederick, son of the Crown Prince and next in the line of succession to the Imperial throne. He stands between the Empress and his mother, the Crown Princess Cecilie. Next to him is his brother Prince Louis Ferdinand, while Prince Hubert is leaning against his mother and Prince Frederick is seated

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NOTORIOUS MEXICAN BANDITS WHO HAVE BEEN OUTLAWED

Villa and Rodriguez, several times reported to have been killed or captured, are in the foreground in the picture, with their hats off.
Editorial comment on the Mexican situation will be found elsewhere

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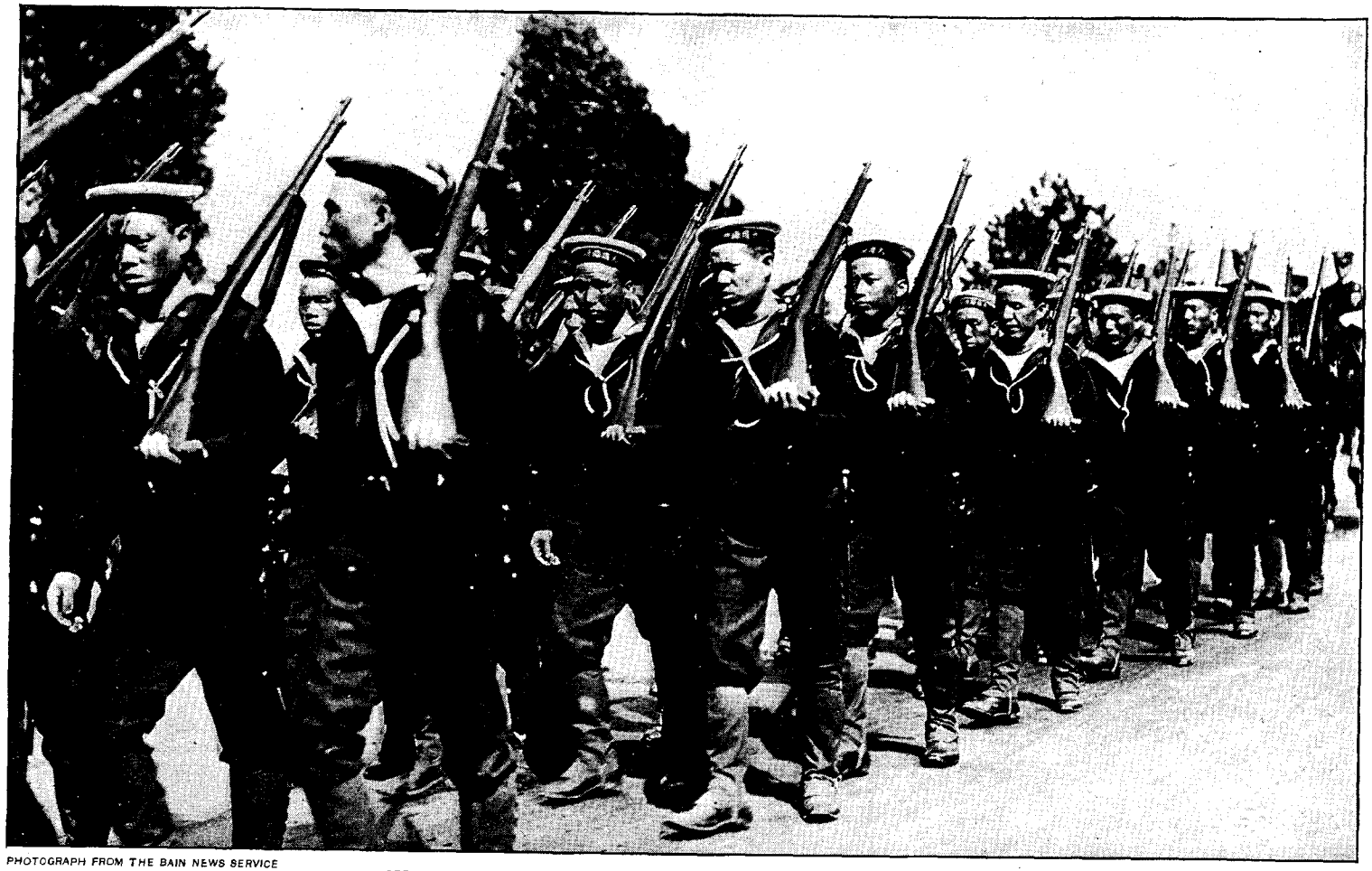

PHOTOGRAPH FROM THE BAIN NEWS SERVICE

THE NEW CHINA HAS A NEW MARINE CORPS

These sturdy-looking soldier-sailors may, under China's new dispensation, be the nucleus of a vast force of fighting men who will make their country respected, if not feared, in every part of the globe

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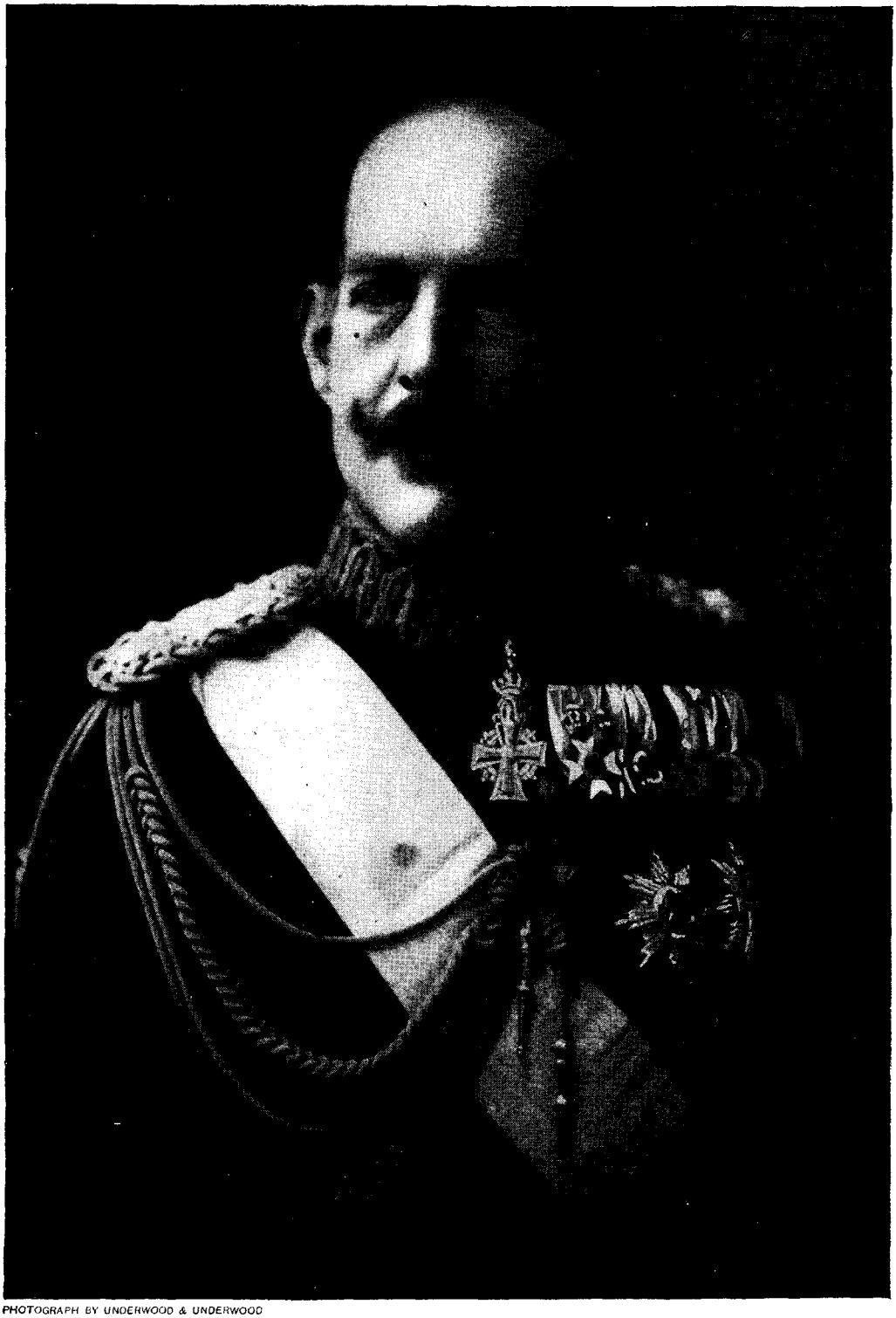

PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

CONSTANTINE, KING OF GREECE, WHO FEARS A REVOLUTION BY HIS SUBJECTS

UNEASY LIE THE HEADS THAT WEAR

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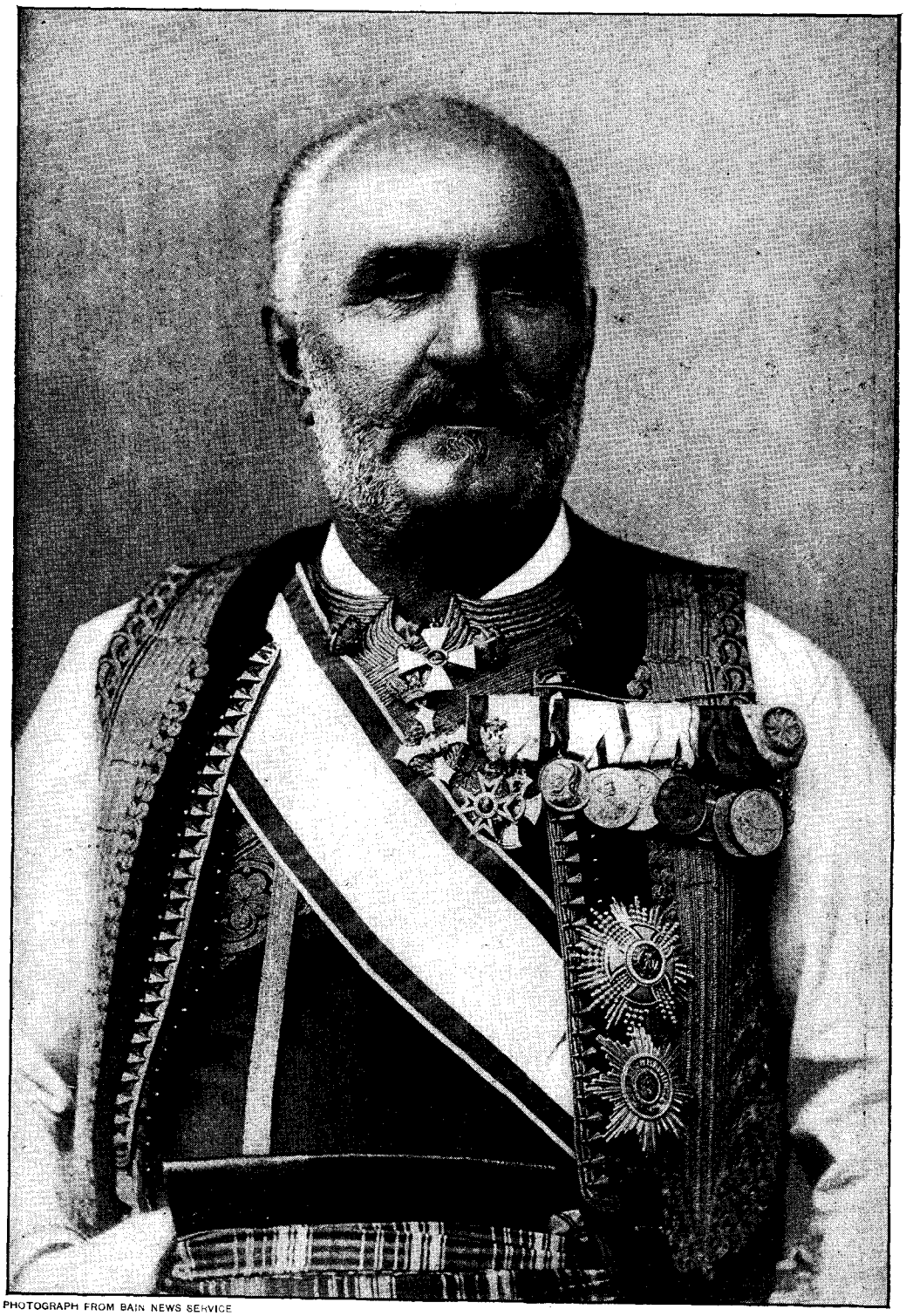

PHOTOGRAPH FROM BAIN NEWS SERVICE

NICHOLAS, KING OF MONTENEGRO, WHO FACES POSSIBLE DETHRONEMENT BY INVADING ARMIES

CROWNS IN SOUTHERN EUROPE

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JUSTICE HUGHES, OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT, AND GOVERNOR WHITMAN, OF NEW YORK

The photograph was taken a few days ago on the occasion of the meeting of the New York State Bar Association. Both men have been recently mentioned as possible candidates for the Presidency. Both, also, have been strong advocates of the reform in New York of prison conditions such as are represented in the picture on the opposite page

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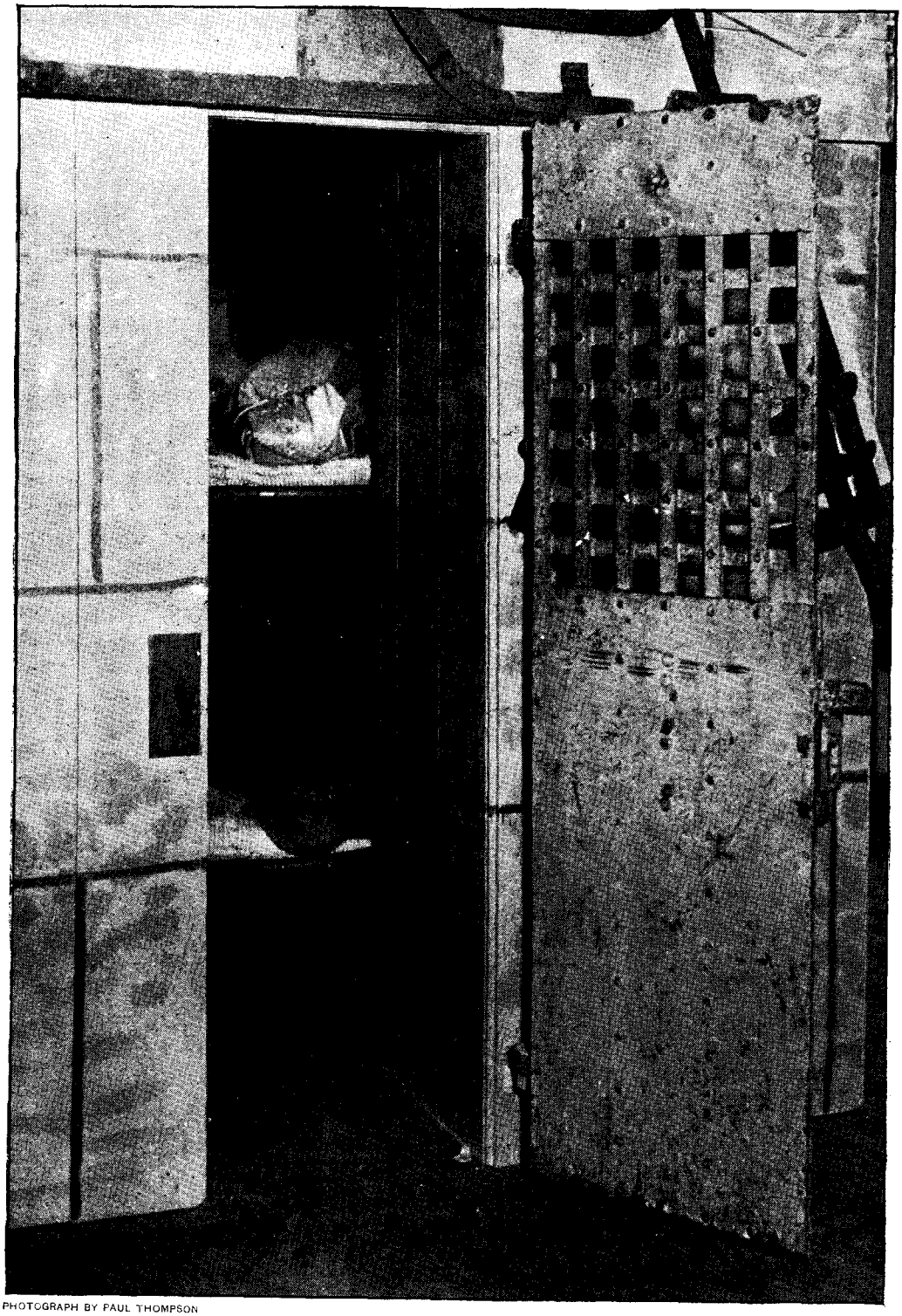

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

"SING SING MUST GO"

This picture portrays the inhuman conditions that have prevailed in the housing of prisoners in New York's famous prison. In these cramped quarters two prisoners must sleep. The photograph is from a model in the recent Prison Exhibit at the Russell Sage Foundation, as described in The Outlook last week

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SKATING AT CENTRAL PARK, NEW YORK CITY, LED BY PARK COMMISSIONER WARD

The great interest in ice skating this winter is indicated by the presence of Commissioner Ward at the opening of the Central Park lake to the lovers of the sport a few days ago. The Commissioner is seen at the head of the group

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moral beings living in a world governed by law, and would not attempt to piece these fragments of knowledge together in a perfected system of philosophy.

I am not a Unitarian; but I am by no means sure that I am a Trinitarian. The question whether Jesus Christ is of the same substance with the Father or of different substance, whether we shall say *homoousian* or *homoiousian*, whether he is in any sense subordinate as a Son to the Father, whether he is begotten not made—in a word, what are the metaphysical relations between the Eternal and the Christ—I do not know, and I am not greatly interested to inquire. I have no psychology of the Infinite to offer to my correspondents. The solution of these questions would throw no light on the path of life, would give no help to the fulfillment of my duty in the great pilgrimage. I have been re-reading lately Edward Everett Hale's inspiring story, "In His Name." The simple faith of the Waldensian folk, who responded instantly to the appeal "For the Love of Christ," and counted no sacrifice too great which was endured in a service rendered "In His Name," is the faith I desire to possess, this love-inspired life of service I am ambitious to emulate. I do not possess and do not even covet the systematic knowledge of the theologian. I am content with fragments of knowledge—the knowledge that the life and character of the Christ afford an ideal which the world of men has not yet overtaken; that an emulating faith in him has transformed myriads of human lives and is slowly transforming human society; and that through that faith his disciples are entering into a fullness of fellowship with the unseen God which before the advent of Christ upon the earth mankind had never known.

The Knoll, Cornwall-on-the-Hudson.

THE NATIONS AT WAR

I—POLAND'S FUTURE: RUSSIAN OR GERMAN?

BY GREGORY MASON

IT was midsummer of 1772. Catherine II of Russia, Joseph II of Austria, and Frederick the Great of Prussia had just divided Poland among themselves. "Now," it is said the great Frederick remarked, with unctuous satisfaction we may imagine, "Poland is a holy sacrament uniting Russia and Prussia. So long as she is in that position we will not fight each other."

The Poles have never relished the rôle that Frederick gave them, and since the first partition of Poland they have looked forward to a war between the huge Slav nation and the principal Teuton Power as their great chance of escape from the tripartite shackles forged at St. Petersburg in August, 1772. Their more far-sighted leaders welcomed this war as men going to jail under guard would welcome a falling out among their captors.

But obviously the opportunity for freedom presented by the quarrel among the guards is thrown away if the prisoners themselves proceed to bicker as to the selection of an avenue of escape.

That is what the Poles have done. When Austria, Germany, and Russia, guardians of the remnants of ancient Poland, went to war, by united action the Poles might have won a large degree of autonomy. Instead, they have shown again the dissension that has been their fundamental fault since the vast kingdom of Boleslaus III in the twelfth century was rent asunder by the disagreements among his successors that ushered in the two centuries of the "partitional period." Austrian and German Poles have called on their brothers in Russia to join them, but some of their own number have gone over to the Czar. Russian Poles have urged all Poles to rely upon the promises of an autonomous Poland that Nicholas II and his Ministers have thrown out, but many Russian Poles, convinced that nothing can be expected from Russia, are fighting with the Teutons. A Russian Pole of noble birth, General Pilsudsky, who had a large estate near Minsk, sacrificed his property and friendships in Russia to organize a legion of 10,000 Russian Poles for the German army, who fought with maniacal fury in the campaign that saw the fall of Warsaw. The first regiments to enter the capital of the ancient kingdom were composed

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of Poles, and as many as 100,000 Poles, most of them Austrian, but some of them Russian, had a part in the drive on Brest-Litovsk.

The German Poles who try to persuade their Russian brethren to join them point to the superior civilization enjoyed by the Poles of Posen and to their advanced economic position. The Austrian Poles, arguing also for the success of Teutonic fortunes, point out that in Austria the Poles have more liberties than in Russia or Germany, and they call attention to the fact that nowhere are so many political posts open to Poles as in Galicia.

Admitting this, the majority of the Russian Poles contend that, since Germany, not Austria, is the dominant figure in the Dual Alliance, in the event of Teutonic victory Germany would determine what the policy of the Teutonic allies should be toward the Poles. This majority element of the Russian Poles, who counsel adherence to Russia, are perhaps the largest element among all Poles, and their position is worth analyzing.

These Poles prefer Russia to Germany, not because they love her more, but because they hate her less. They believe that Germany is a greater menace to their ambitions than Russia. Look at the map and see how Germany, even at the outbreak of war, half embraced Russian Poland.

"The Polish civilization is superior to the Russian civilization," an influential Pole who is outwardly loyal to Russia said to me. "That is because Poland, like western Europe, inherits her civilization from Rome. But Russia gets hers from Byzantium. Because of this Poland is more honest and moral than Russia. The western European countries, where Protestantism and Catholicism are superimposed on the civilization of Rome, are more honest than Russia, where Christianity is fused with a barbarous Oriental political system. The Pole and the west European get Roman law and Rome's standard of honesty with its Church, while even the barbarism inherited from Rome is an orderly barbarism. But even a fine religion like Christianity cannot always cope with the defects of the political system and traditions inherited by Russia from savage tribes. Nothing is so bad, nothing is so unreliable, as a half-breed. I consider a Negro superior to a mulatto; and the mule is an atrocious character. So it is a question if Turkey is not superior to Russia in government and in collective honesty.

"But we Poles do not fear the inferior civilization of Russia as we fear the civilization of Germany, which is on a parity with our civilization. Our nationality is much more apt to be undermined by Germany than by Russia. In fact, the Russian colonies planted in Poland to destroy its national integrity have failed, because Russians cannot thrive in the rarefied atmosphere of Polish civilization.

"So the Poles hope to have Russia regain all ancient Poland, and then hope for a large measure of independence under Russian protection."

These views represent approximately the feeling of the most influential party among the Russian Poles, the National Democratic party. This party is made up largely of nobles, big landowners, and the aristocracy in general, and is ably led by Mr. Roman Dmowski, of Warsaw.

To Poles of this kind the outlook is brighter than it was a year ago. At the outset of the war, on the suggestion of the French Government, it was agreed by the Triple Entente, according to reports which the Poles believed, that the terms of peace after the war, if the Allies were victorious, would be dictated by them, not determined by an international conference with neutrals represented. England, France, and Russia were each to have its particular sphere of influence. Poland was to be a Russian sphere. England and France retained the privilege to advise Russia in regard to Poland, but they yielded all decision to her.

This reported agreement dismayed the Russian Poles, who feel that from Russia alone they can expect nothing. But two developments of the past year of war have encouraged the Poles.

The first was Italy's entrance into the fighting on the understanding that her voice would be no less heard at the peace conference table than the voices of her three larger allies. This event displeased the Russian Government, but pleased the Poles.

The second was the retreat of Russia from the Carpathians to the present battle line and the capture by the Teutons of all Poland.

Owing to these two events, and particularly owing to the success of German arms in Poland, the Poles now feel that Russia alone will not have the power of shaping their future. If Russia regains Poland, it will be with the consent and to some extent by the aid of her allies, think the Poles. So it seems

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certain that after the war the Polish question will be an international one.

This will be true even if the end of the fighting finds the Kaiser's hand still clenched on Poland, for William II has already lost the war on the sea, and he can buy the liberation of his bottled dreadnoughts only by concessions ashore. So it seems settled that the Polish question will be one for international discussion.

America's presence at the peace conference of the Powers would be welcomed by the Poles, for, as the influential Pole above quoted said, "with her passion for freedom and self-government America would naturally be an advocate of Polish self-government."

"Oh, if America would send only one warship against Germany!" this man sighed.

But the Poles feel that America will be an influence in the determination of their future whether she enters the war or not, so great will be her economic strength by the time the last gun of the war has gone dumb. Therefore the Poles are trying now to mold American opinion.

The reason that the lot of the Poles in Austria has been better than the lot of their brothers in Russia and Germany is a political reason. In Austria proper there are eight principal competing nationalities, having their own interests and ambitions, their own languages and newspapers. As determined by the languages spoken by them, they are the Germans, Czechs, Slovenes, Poles, Rumanians, Ruthenians, Serbs, and Italians. The Teutons are in constant clash with the Czechs, and the Poles hold the balance of power between the two. When the Poles are with the Government it wins, when they are with the Czechs the Government breaks down. Consequently it has been the policy of the Government to conciliate the Poles, to allow them to speak their own language and to hold political office. In Galicia, in particular, the Poles have enjoyed a large degree of self-government.

But latterly, as Austria has been drawn closer to Germany by the pull of political exigencies, Germany has influenced her sister nation to treat her Polish subjects with more Prussian severity. Largely through Germany's influence, a few years ago Austria began to employ two weapons against her Poles. These two weapons were the Germans in Austria and the Jews in Austria. In commerce and in political life they were encouraged to compete against the Poles. During the half-decade just previous to the war the Poles were losing power rapidly and were beginning to view with great alarm the growing *entente* between the two central empires.

For the Prussians have ever been diabolically clever in their policy of Prussianizing their own Poles. The work of eliminating the spark of nationality which Frederick the Great began was accelerated after the futile Polish insurrections of 1831 and 1848, and it was particularly encouraged by Bismarck. Germany gives her Poles the material benefits of civilization, telephones, telegraphs, railways, etc., in much greater quantity than Russia gives these advantages to her Polish subjects. But in her systematic efforts to Germanize them she is much cleverer than Russia is in her attempts at Russification. Russia forbids the Polish language in schools and public institutions; but the Russian officials sent to Poland are often obliged to speak Polish to be understood at all. Germany likewise forbids the Polish language, but Germany's officials with their greater respect for rules see that the prohibition is made effectual. Germany has successfully colonized much of her part of ancient Poland and has broken down many of the racial barriers which the Poles would like to have maintained.

"Russia, by prohibitions and brutalities, makes life uncomfortable for us," one of the leaders of the Polish National Democratic party told me, "but she does not threaten our national integrity as Germany threatens it."

Therefore the programme of this party, which has its followers in all three Polands, is:

1. The assembling of ancient Poland under one government, Russia preferred.

2. Later, the constant increase of self-government until Poland eventually has a large degree of autonomy.

If all the Poles subscribed to this programme, we could admire their sagacity, for twenty million or more Poles united in one political entity could resist the strongest attempts at denationalization. But any one who knows anything of Polish character and Polish history would expect to find the Poles divided in their plans and hopes to-day. And so they are. As usual, we find the Poles at loggerheads with one another.

We can understand those Poles who are fighting to keep the commercial footholds or the political positions which they hold under Austrian or even under German régime, or who are fighting for Austria or Germany

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under compulsion. But what must we think of the Poles who refuse to admit that their fortunes are in any way bound to the fortunes of either Russia, Austria, or Germany?

"If you had to choose between Germany and Russia, which would you choose?" I asked a young Russian Pole of some prominence among the radical element of his people.

"Neither," he snorted, indignantly.

"But if you had to take one or the other?" I persisted.

"Neither—never either," was all he would say.

Arrant pride and egotism of this sort, an unwillingness to compromise when compromise is necessary, and an inherent incapacity for co-operation are the traits in Polish character that have made Poland's history a tragic history, and that will make it more tragic in the future unless these traits are suppressed.

For if Polish history means anything, it means that long-continued Polish independence is impossible. The big kingdom of Boleslaus I fell apart because Poles could not live together amicably. Then in the fifteenth century, when Casimir IV was struggling with the Knights of Prussia, the gentry of Poland was so disloyal or so indifferent that the Polish King was obliged to hire Czech mercenaries to fight Poland's battles for him. Then, after the division of Poland, instead of supporting the liberal constitution secured in 1791, a small number of Polish nobles formed the traitorous confederation of Targovitza, and protested against the constitution as interfering with the ancient privileges of these nobles. The result was that a Russian army invaded Poland, and the country was divided again in 1793. The subsequent rising under Kosciusko was on the brink of complete triumph when quarreling among the Poles ruined the cause of the fighting patriot. To give only one more instance of the fatal weakness of the Poles, consider the revolt that occurred in 1831, in spite of the liberal Constitution that Alexander I of Russia had given his Polish subjects in 1815. Polish independence was proclaimed. The Poles fought with their usual bravery, but with their usual bickerings and dilatoriness they allowed Warsaw to be retaken, and lost the struggle. If the history of any nation illustrates the converse of the proverb "In union there is strength," it is the history of Poland.

The real Polish question to-day is whether Poland is to exist under the protection of Russia or Germany; or, rather, the first question is whether Poland is to be reunited under one government or whether it is to continue divided, and, if it is to be united, the question then arises, under what auspices, Russian or German? For the two great Powers that have quarreled over Poland in the past, like two wolves quarreling over a sheep, cannot both be separated from the future fortunes of Poland, and it is better for the sheep to be given entirely to one wolf (to continue a somewhat unpleasant metaphor) than to be torn between the two. The worst enemies of Poland are those impractical Poles who cry for the immediate absolute independence of Poland, for this angers both Germany and Russia, and the sheep can throw off the grip of one wolf only with the help of the other, and alone can free itself from neither.

Between Russia and Germany, Russia is the natural guardian for Poland to select. With the views on this question of the distinguished Russian Pole above quoted probably most impartial observers will agree, with the exception of his denunciation of Russia's civilization as barbarous, a tirade in which some inherited racial animosities came to the surface. Despite the bitternesses of the past, Poland is more indebted to Russia than to Germany, and the future of the Poles is more bound up with the future of their fellow-Slavs than with the future of the alien Teutons.

The world owes much to Poland for her services as "the Buckler of Christendom," a rôle in which she warded off many blows from the pagan East against the Christian West. The world cannot forget how that dauntless Pole, John Sobieski, threw back the Turks before Vienna in 1683. But the greatest faults of the Poles have resulted from her continued position as a buffer state, constantly subject to invasions. Poland developed a strong military caste, feudal in character. The armed nobles flourished at the expense of the merchants, tradesmen, and peasants, and to-day Poland is still handicapped by the wide rift that exists between her upper and lower classes.

A buffer state Poland has been and a buffer state she will continue to be. But her lot will be happier if she is a Slav bulwark linked to Russia, used by Russia against Germanic onslaughts, but reinforced and protected by Russia, than if she is given a feeble

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independence and left to fear attacks both from east and west.

Moreover, Russia is the nation to whose greatest interest it is to reunite Poland, and there is a fair chance that if the Allies are victorious Poland will be reunited under Russian protection. But even now, with German armies holding Poland, there is little chance that Germany can keep what she now has, for she must use some of it as a *quid pro quo* for the freedom of the seas that only England can give her.

The cause of the Poles really lies—and would that more of them could see it!—with the cause of liberal constitutional government in Russia, unless the Poles in Europe wish to embrace the suggestion offered to some of them by an American war correspondent. This man was approached one day by a delegation of sad-eyed Poles who told him that by the might of his pen he could alleviate, perhaps end, the sufferings of their people.

"How is that?" he asked.

"Well, we want you to write to your paper in America, urging all American Poles to sell all their property, get together all the cash they can lay their hands on, and come back to Poland to devote the funds to the needs of their unfortunate countrymen. If enough of them respond, we can buy the independence of our country."

The correspondent was silent a minute. Then, like a man in whose mind a great truth is dawning, he said, slowly:

"I have a better plan. It is the real and the only practicable solution to your troubles."

"What is that? Tell us at once," they asked, all eagerness.

"Why, all you Poles sell your property, get together your families, and go to America."

But it is not likely that the Poles will adopt this facetious suggestion, and unless they do so their salvation lies through the triumph of democratic principles in Russia. The pan-Slavists are right when they say that the little, narrow propaganda of the Poles is treason to a greater cause. The Polish question, like the Jewish question and the Finnish question, will be on the way to solution in Russia on the day of the establishment of a liberal, democratic government.

II—HOW ENGLAND PAYS FOR THE WAR

BY JAMES DAVENPORT WHELPLEY

ENGLAND will require $8,000,000,000 or more for war and ordinary expenses during the year 1916. About $2,000,000,000 of this will be raised through the usual channels of taxation expanded to their utmost, for it is expected that the taxpayers of the United Kingdom will contribute nearly double the amount they were called upon to pay in the year preceding the outbreak of war.

This increase is brought about by doubling the income tax, imposing new and increased taxes upon spirits, tea, tobacco, and other articles of consumption, and by reducing the free list of imports. With the exception of such balance as was on hand January 1, 1916, the remainder of the money will be borrowed at home and abroad. The methods of borrowing will be varied and some of them unusual. The greater amount will be loaned by the public of the United Kingdom, assisted to a certain degree by the people of other parts of the British Empire.

Paper money will be issued in increasing amounts for home use. The usual offerings of long and short term government securities of the ordinary kinds will be made. There will be a so-called "prize loan" modeled after the French idea. This loan will bear three per cent, and prizes amounting to about two per cent more will be distributed as drawings of bond numbers are made, on the same principle as a lottery, though in this case each ticket sold will represent negotiable interest-bearing value, with a chance from time to time of drawing a cash prize in addition.

The amount that can be deposited in the Post-Office Savings Bank has been raised from $1,000 to $5,000, and five per cent will probably be paid on money so deposited instead of the very low rate of two and one-half per cent customary in the past. In addition to these voluntary loans it is expected that what will be termed "compulsory saving" will be adopted, ostensibly for the benefit of and to force economy upon people who earn good wages or who are in possession of small fixed incomes. In reality, this scheme might be called "compulsory lending" as well,

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for the Government will issue easily negotiated securities in return for these savings and thus have the use of the money. It is proposed that any man with an income of over $10 per week is to be compelled to "save" a certain percentage of his income and place it in government hands for safe-keeping. In a country where income tax is collected from every one whose income is more than $650 per year it would not be difficult to determine the "saving" or the "lending" power of the individual, and enforce his contribution through the same machinery employed to assess and collect the income tax; or it can be done through a system similar to that used for the collection of contributions to compulsory insurance, that is, by the purchase of stamps and the use of dated cards to which the stamps are affixed at stated intervals. These things are much easier to carry out successfully in a country of concentrated population and of completely centralized government than they would be in the United States.

The capital wealth of the United Kingdom is estimated at about $75,000,000,000, and the income of the nation at about $12,000,000,000. If the compulsory saving measure succeeded in reaching one per cent of the national income, $120,000,000 would be realized from this single source, and much larger results are predicted by those who favor the plan, owing to the present exceptional wage-earning power of formerly tax-free individuals. There are now three million people in England engaged in the manufacture of war materials; and while a number are unpaid voluntary workers, their percentage is small, and many of those who are paid are receiving more money for a day's work than has ever been recorded in Europe as a scale of wage for manual labor.

Government commissions, government officials, and private individuals of prominence have been preachng economy to the English public with increasing fervor as the war goes on. It was not necessary to do this to the intelligent rich, the canny middle-class merchant, or to professional classes whose decreasing incomes have already enforced an economy exercised to the limit. All this is well understood by those who have talked economy. It is the British working class that it is desired to impress with the necessity of economy and the desirability of saving.

The British workingman is notoriously unscientific in his diet and his manner of living, and he has no idea of how to save and little desire to do it. If the workingman's family does succeed in putting by a bit for a rainy day, it is the woman who is responsible, but even this side of the house is pathetically ignorant as to food values and true economy in any direction. It is not at all uncommon for a married man who earns $6.25 a week to spend $2.50 on meat, the most expensive form of nourishment in England even in times of peace.

The stories told by the shopkeepers are all to the effect that it is the working people who are now spending the money. The butcher is selling the expensive meats to the wage-earners. The sales of jewelry, pianos, bicycles, and like goods in the war munition manufacturing districts have broken all records; the drink bill for the past year exceeds that of the year before, despite restrictions, and on the surface at least a prosperity has come to those communities such as would not have been dreamed of two years ago.

The laboring man is holding himself at a high premium at the present time and spending that premium at a reckless rate. Thoughtful men realize what may happen in England when the war is over, the war munitions work demobilized, and English industry reconstructed on normal lines. They see distress ahead for the improvident poor and heavier burdens placed upon Government and private charity than can be borne with comfort; for the class which is now earning and spending big wages is quick enough to apply for aid when in need, and they look upon it as a right that they should have it. Those familiar with present conditions are practically all in favor of almost any measure, however paternalistic it may be or however much it may savor of compulsion, which will induce the workers to save, not only to protect them from present improvidence, but to conserve the resources of the country and thus lessen the acuteness of the problems which will present themselves for solution in the time of peace to come.

It has been suggested, and the idea favorably received, that each soldier shall, when he leaves the army, be given a month's pay and allowances and that he shall be insured by the Government for one year thereafter against unemployment. Taking into consideration the temperament and habits of the average British workman, it would seem as though it would be much better for the Government to effect such insurance by furnishing the

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employment if needed instead of contributing unearned money. This would be fairer to the taxpayers and to the soldiers and their families as well. The Government would be able to find work for thousands of men in taking care of arrears on public enterprises suspended because of the war, in repairing the hundreds of miles of now neglected highway, and in generally restoring public utilities to a normal state of usefulness. The present problem, however, is to make the people not under arms decrease the amount of imported articles consumed, increase the productiveness of the soil and general manufacture for export, and, above all, to save a liberal percentage of their extra wages, so that they will have some capital at their command later on and that the Government will have the use of the money in the meantime.

The home resources of the English money market are very great. As is usual in an emergency, the first call for money was answered from that source, and in the end it will be the British people themselves who will answer the last call made on account of this war. A sum total of the borrowings, made some time in the future, will show the percentage obtained from foreign sources to be small as compared with the amount secured at home. It is generally considered to be the best policy to pay for a war with emergency taxation, but in these days the amounts required are so stupendous as to make this impossible, and future generations will bear some of the burden of present expenditure. It will be the British people who will furnish the bulk of the money for present needs at home, and they will, in addition, assist their allies with loans amounting to billions of dollars.

Borrowing abroad has been and will be naturally confined to the United States. One unsecured loan of $500,000,000 has already been placed, and it will be a long day before another unsecured loan can even be suggested. The American market will have to digest this $500,000,000 issue before an attempt can be made to increase the obligation without inviting disaster. The plan now, therefore, is to offer actual security for money, this security to take the form of well-established American and Canadian stocks and bonds now in English ownership. The amount of such securities owned in England is unknown. Leading financial experts differ amazingly in their estimates, these running from $1,500,000,000 to $4,000,000,000.

The English Government now proposes to buy these securities from the British owners at the current market price, paying for them with five-year, five per cent Exchequer bonds at par, free of brokerage. If the owners do not care to sell, the Government will borrow their securities for a period of two years, giving a negotiable receipt bearing one-half of one per cent more interest than the securities are now yielding. In the case of lenders, however, the Government will reserve the right to buy at any time, paying the New York price the day of the sale with a bonus of two and a half per cent on the value so calculated. This reservation of a right to buy the securities so borrowed is to give the Government absolute freedom of action to protect itself on a changing market or to handle the securities to the best advantage under any and all circumstances. Millions of dollars' worth of these securities are already pledged for loans or are hypothecated for some other purpose. Other millions are for various reasons ungetatable, some of them being stored in America, possibly in some cases to avoid income tax. Some of the holders of American securities will prefer to hold them for reasons of the future when possibly British war loan bonds may be depreciated in selling price. Eliminating these securities as unavailable, the whole matter being on a voluntary basis, the London financial experts agree that the Government may find $1,000,000,000 in American and Canadian securities at its disposal. This is very probable, as, by arrangement with the insurance and other companies holding large amounts of money in investment, the Government has already been assured of a very large amount being offered at once.

Such an amount of securities in a single private hand would be a serious menace to the American security market; but as the British Government is not engaged in speculation and has no desire to inconvenience American finance, there is no danger. In fact, there is less danger of these mobilized securities becoming a disturbing factor in America, for if privately owned and controlled they might come to the American market for sale in considerable quantities later on as a result of constantly increasing financial pressure in England.

The British Government proposes to use these securities as the basis of a loan in the same way that an individual would use them when in need of money. The usual thing in

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New York among the banks is to lend eighty per cent of the market value to the owners of such paper. What interest the British Government would have to pay for $800,000,000 secured by $1,000,000,000 of American securities is of course as yet undecided, but possibly five per cent would be the charge. In that case the British Government would pay five per cent on its war bonds issued in payment for the $1,000,000,000, or $50,000,000, and on the loan secured in New York it would pay $40,000,000 in interest. From this ninety million of interest can be deducted that earned by the American securities—say $40,000,000—thus leaving the Government with an interest expenditure of $50,000,000 for $800,000,000 in cash, or six and one-quarter per cent.

These figures are supposititious, but are normal when treating normal situations. When a government is dealing, and the amount is of such magnitude, the business may possibly be put through in such manner that the loan will cost the government less, but this is not likely. The holder of British war bonds received in payment for American securities will not have an investment with equally bright prospects for the future, but his income will be safe and possibly less subject to fluctuations than it would have been had the exchange not been made, unless the British Government defaults in its interest obligations, a contingency not to be seriously considered.

In addition to the $500,000,000 already borrowed in America and the proposed borrowings on mobilized American securities, other large credits are arranged from day to day through international banking facilities. It would seem, therefore, that America is fast completing arrangements which will insure, for some time to come, a handsome balance of cash due to her each year from England. The annual interest on the $500,000,000 already borrowed amounts to $37,500,000. The interest on the expected borrowing of $800,000,000 would absorb the interest due on the $1,000,000,000 of the American securities held in England and thus keep that money at home. To this may be added several hundred millions more from other English sources for supplies during the war. All this fails to compensate for even a considerable part of the material loss to America because of this war, but it should lead to a more advantageous condition for American foreign trade for some years to come. What is more important, it should be a factor in bringing about an even closer, more friendly, and more mutually profitable era in Anglo-American relations than we have as yet enjoyed.

III—GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND FREE SPEECH

WHILE Germany has not physically invaded Switzerland (largely owing to the admirable military preparedness of the Swiss people), German influences have invaded the Swiss domain of free thought and free speech. The fear of this phase of German despotism is steadily growing in Switzerland, and even in the German cantons of the Federation the feeling is spreading that, if Germany wins the European war, a great blow will be struck at Swiss independence.

Two striking incidents which have occurred during the last few months have intensified the Swiss distrust of Germany. Last spring a remarkable book was published in Lausanne called "*J'accuse.*" The author did not sign his name for fear of German reprisals, but stated in his final chapter that he was a German by birth, education, and sentiment; that he loved his country; and that he "wrote the book *because* he loved it." "*J'accuse*" is written in a fine spirit and appeals to the German people to throw off the military despotism which is destroying their intellectual and industrial efficiency and leading them to national disaster.

The book was indorsed by Dr. Anton Suter, a distinguished publicist of Lausanne, who vouched for the authenticity and responsibility of the author. Books written in a similar spirit of criticism were published freely in England during the Boer War and in the United States during the Spanish War over the names of their authors and without any Government suppression. That the author of "*J'accuse*" was, however, justified in his fear of German reprisals is shown by the fact that last autumn his book was suppressed under martial law in Switzerland, its transmission through the post-office was prohibited, and copies of it were seized on all

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the railway news-stands. A propaganda has been carried on in England and in this country to give the impression that both the author of the book and its sponsor, Dr. Suter, were untrustworthy and irresponsible. Our first information regarding this remarkable volume came from an article in the "*Journal de Genève*," and we finally wrote to the editor of that journal asking for information regarding the standing of Dr. Suter. We recently received the following reply:

Dr. Anton Suter, who has assumed the responsibility of "*J'accuse*," is a Swiss citizen who married the sister of a former President of the Swiss Federation, M. Ruffy. He belongs to the Socialist party, and is now President of the Municipal Council of Lausanne. He is a very rich and very generous man who spends his fortune without stint in behalf of his political ideals and in supporting political movements in harmony with those ideals. He is a man of indisputable honor and thoroughly unselfish. You may be sure that he published "*J'accuse*" solely to serve a cause which he believes to be a just one. He had to put himself in the author's place, who at the last moment withdrew his name for fear of the personal consequences which would follow the publication of his book if he signed it. The author is a thoroughly authentic German whose name I personally know but have promised not to mention.

It is perhaps proper to add that the "*Journal de Genève*" is one of the most influential papers published in Europe and that the member of its editorial staff who writes the above letter is a man of very high personal and literary standing in Geneva. Some of the Swiss papers refer to the suppression of "*J'accuse*" as really a suppression of the constitutional rights of the Swiss people.

A still more striking example of the malign influence of Germany upon the ancient constitutional rights of the Swiss people has just come to our attention through the "*Journal de Genève*." There is published in Lausanne a monthly review, nearly a century old, called the "*Bibliothèque Universelle*." In the spring and early summer of last year it published a series of articles by a distinguished French writer, M. Paul Stapfer, on the European war. In one of these articles M. Stapfer denounces the invasion of Belgium and attacks the speech of Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg in which the Chancellor defended this invasion. He condemns the Chancellor's speech as a "twofold villainy." In another burning passage in the same article he says that he can understand the feelings of those people who demand brutal reprisals for the sufferings of the Belgians, but that the punishment should be visited not upon the people of Germany but upon "the principal culprit" (that is to say, the German Emperor), "who has committed the greatest crime of history against the peace of the world, against its material prosperity, against the reign of reason, against true civilization, culture, and humanity." He draws a picture of the Emperor being condemned to death by a public and solemn European tribunal at the close of the war and then being given back his life. "The public conscience," he says, "would be fully satisfied by a clemency more bitter than death, for, wholly in accordance with good morals, it would be but a prolongation and aggravation of his punishment."

After a powerful condemnation of the Emperor and his Chancellor, he concludes that such reprisals, however natural, must not be thought of. Shall we punish them as we are tempted to?

A thousand times no! We must condemn without exception the barbarous law of "a tooth for a tooth" and maintain the true Gospel doctrine of our Great Chief against the cruel ecclesiastics of the German churches and universities who have invoked as a justification of their atrocious acts the authority of Jesus Christ.

The Federal Council in Switzerland last July issued an ordinance under martial law providing for "the repression of insults against the people, governments, or ruling personages of foreign nations." Professor Millioud, the editor of the "*Bibliothèque Universelle*," was brought into court by the Public Prosecutor and charged with having violated this ordinance. The case became a celebrated one, and the Federal Tribunal, in the latter part of December, rendered its decision, found Professor Millioud guilty of violating the ordinance, fined him five hundred francs and costs, and confirmed the seizure of the numbers of the "*Bibliothèque Universelle*" containing the offending article.

The "*Journal de Genève*" expresses the opinion, which is shared by other Swiss newspapers, that Professor Millioud's defense, overruled by the Court, was sound both in morals and in law. The contention of his counsel was that the special ordinance of July was unconstitutional and violated the ancient Swiss rights of free speech. The Federal Tribunal decides that the ordinance of July is constitutional, but this decision

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may still be carried to the final Court of Appeals.

There is an amusing phase of this trial. In handing down its decision the Swiss Federal Tribunal incorporated several long quotations from the offending article in the "*Bibliothèque Universelle.*" These passages, which the Court has now stamped as criminal, can be published by every newspaper in Switzerland without fear or hesitation because they are a part of the court record. The Swiss authorities, instead of suppressing M. Paul Stapfer's criticisms, have succeeded in giving them a very wide currency. The "*Journal de Genève*" comments on this amusing outcome of the trial as follows: "The phrases of the condemned article had not received a very wide publicity, but the famous trial which has just ended, with the right of appeal to the Court of Appeals, has given and will continue to give the article a fame which it could not otherwise have obtained. Can it be possible that this was what the Government thorities wanted? We do not know. But we are sure that it is not the '*Bibliothèque Universelle*' which will have the greatest cause to complain of this affair."

The best Swiss opinion recognizes that Switzerland is placed in a very trying position to-day and that the plenary powers given to the authorities for the defense of Switzerland under martial law are perhaps necessary for the general good of the country as a protection against a neighbor which openly avows its adoption of the policy of frightfulness. But nevertheless the German as well as the French citizens of the Swiss Federation are beginning to ask if the martial law, which is openly ascribed by the authorities to the danger of German aggression, is not threatening the ancient liberties and rights of the citizens of Switzerland.

LIBERTY IN AMERICA

BY RAYMOND B. FOSDICK

IN an article in The Outlook some weeks ago [1] I attempted to show the extent to which liberty in Germany has been subordinated to discipline and regulation. The rigid order of German life under the guidance of an inflexible paternalism was contrasted with the individualistic conception of "inalienable rights" which we have inherited in this country with our Anglo-Saxon traditions. The point was made that the watchword of Teutonic *Kultur* is not freedom but discipline, that liberty in Germany in our sense of the term has no existence, that the German citizen lives for the state rather than the state for the citizen.

Such a contrast in German and American ideals and practices makes pleasant reading for Americans. It confirms us in the belief that our heritage of freedom is the more precious possession. We are glad of the opportunity to testify to our faith before the world and to pass on to future generations our traditions of liberty. Between a civilization in which liberty is subordinated to stern discipline imposed by a few and a civilization in which liberty for all is the end in view, we are definitely and unreservedly committed in our choice.

But a contrast such as this is not the whole story. Standing by itself, it lacks perspective and is incomplete. Indeed, if it engenders the belief that German ideals hold nothing of value for America, that discipline and regulation have no place in the life of a free people, it possesses distinct elements of danger.

In order to appreciate the significance of this point let us view the situation in America against the background of German ideals. No American can live long in Germany without realizing that the predominant characteristic of the German people is "team-work"—the ability to pull together. There is a unity of purpose in German life, an element of cohesiveness in German society, a conscious co-ordination of effort, quite lacking in America. For one reason or another, individuals and classes seem more readily to subordinate their own interests to what is conceived to be the interest of the whole. The nation thinks and acts as a great human mechanism, adjusted in all its parts to efficiency and the advancement of the Fatherland. Where our life is "aggregated and chaotic"—to use the

[1] "Liberty in Germany," in the November 3, 1915, number.

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picturesque characterization of Mr. H. G. Wells—German life is evolved and organized, with a real and sustaining conception of a common purpose.

This "team-work" of the German people is simply the cohesive power of discipline. By discipline I do not mean the formalisms of military training nor the passive submission of the majority to autocratic leadership. Discipline in Germany is a mental attitude—an appreciation of the obligation laid upon the worker by his task. The conception of *Pflicht und Schuldigkeit* permeates German life: the duty and the debt which rests upon the individual to do his day's work, whatever it may be. Discipline to a German involves more than this; it means his obligation to adjust his work and his life to the work and lives of his fellows. The motto of Germany might very well be: "A place for every man and every man in his place." That is, the sense of order, so characteristic of the Teutonic mind, has to do with men as well as things, with the result that co-operation for a common purpose is easily effected. "Organization is not difficult in Germany," said the head of a steel industry in Düsseldorf. "Our men come to us mentally adjusted for their work; they seem to fall into their proper places."

This ability to "fall into place" is due largely to two factors: the school and the army. It would be difficult to overestimate the disciplinary influence of the German school in the molding of the nation. Education is woven into the fiber of the Empire. It is not a detached thing, separate and apart. As Mr. Frederic Howe points out, it is an agency for meeting every possible want and anticipating every need. Closely integrated with industry and the commercial life of the nation through its system of vocational training, it is permeated throughout with a spirit of patriotism—a veneration for the Hohenzollerns, a belief in the destiny of the Empire, and a willingness to sacrifice everything for the state. To the commanding position of the German school in the life of the nation and to the interpretation which for forty years it has given to the idea of "*Deutschland über Alles*" is undoubtedly due the astonishingly united spirit which up to this time has made Germany a peril to her foes.

The second factor contributing to the discipline of the German people is the requirement of universal military service. Two years' life in the army has a far-reaching effect upon the individual citizen. I am referring, not to the external formalisms in intercourse which it accentuates, but to its peculiar success in preparing its graduates for co-operative enterprise. The recruit comes to the army raw and untrained, mentally a little dull, perhaps, and physically unfit. In six months he is an alert, snappy, upstanding soldier, with an appreciation of the value of organization in the accomplishment of a common purpose. He knows what "team-work" means. The change is not only physical but psychological. "It is astonishing to see the rapid transformation of our recruits," a lieutenant in the Prussian army told the writer. "You Americans think we turn them out mere cog-wheels. To a certain extent this is true, but the cog-wheels fit together in the machine of the Empire!" And this is a point of considerable significance. Two years in the army gives to the citizen a sense of relationship with the state. His place of usefulness in the co-operative programme is definitely mapped out. In the destiny of his country he plays a conscious part. Thereafter the state is to him a structure which his efforts have helped to maintain, and "the good of the nation" are to him words of personal significance.

Lest I be thought an ardent proponent of Prussian militarism, let me hasten to say that I am fully conscious of the abuses which have followed in the trail of universal military service in Germany. The rigid class distinctions which it has fostered, the spirit of subservience which it has accentuated, to say nothing of the materialistic element which it has bred in the *deutsche Kultur*, are not to be overlooked by the thoughtful student. But of the profound influence of German military training in fitting individuals for "team-work" and in building up a sense of the collective interest embodied in the state there can be no question.

To the kind of training which we have just been discussing, and to the result achieved, America offers a marked contrast. Said a foreign critic: "You Americans think of your Government as if it were merely to be supported like a hospital." This charge is undoubtedly too sweeping; but it is certainly true that there is here no sustaining consciousness of relationship between the citizen and the body politic such as one finds in Germany. The traditions and practices of pioneer days are still strong among us. From the self-reliance and independence of our frontier life

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have come a dread of authority, a suspicion of discipline, a limited capacity for co-operation. As units, we do not fit easily or readily into harmonious social arrangement. Submission to organization is repugnant to the American spirit. Not long ago a manufacturing concern in a Middle Western city found itself hard pressed through the lack of trained employees. The work required attention and application rather than technical skill, and was suffering because men could not be found who would do exactly as they were told. As a last resort, the directors succeeded in purchasing the discharge from the United States army of one hundred soldiers, whom they employed at substantial increases in salary. They figured that the large initial outlay would be justified if it secured the services of men who knew how to obey orders. For the same reason one of our large Eastern railways offers employment to every soldier honorably discharged from the United States army. There is no sentimental patriotism about the offer. It is prompted solely by a consideration of dollars and cents, because a trained mind means effective service. Said an American manufacturer before the war: "We are handicapped in our industrial competition with Germany by our lack of disciplined men. We are being outdistanced at a speed that promises to leave us far in the rear."

Behind this lack of discipline in America, and, indeed, largely responsible for it, is our conception of liberty. Our intense individualism is a stumbling-block to co-operation. The very doctrines of equality upon which the country was reared are mental barriers to effective team-work. We are intolerant of restraint upon what we call "personal liberty," even when it is laid for public benefit. The name American is identified with an impassioned independence, a fierce impatience with anything that abridges our right to do as we please. Mr. John Graham Brooks tells of a New Hampshire dairyman who, irritated by the standard of cleanliness which the milk inspector submitted to him, burst out in reply: "Yes, I have read a good deal in the agricultural paper about this foolishness; but I am an American, and I propose to stay on bein' an American."

It has proved easy in this country to condemn troublesome restrictions by calling them "un-American." Indeed, for fifty years this has been our stock argument against the extension of Government functions. The whole modern programme of municipal health control, civil service reform, tenement-house regulation, the Pure Food and Drug Act, the protection of our natural resources, have all in their time met the charge of being "un-American." Only a few weeks ago a high municipal official of Minneapolis, in discussing with the writer the recently installed civil service system, remarked that he thought it "the most un-American thing" he ever heard of. Said he: "This Civil Service Board assumes to tell me, an elected representative of the people, whom I may appoint and whom I may not appoint!" The writer has heard the same indignant protest in St. Paul, Kansas City, and other municipalities where the philosophy of the spoils system still prevails. Similarly, the added powers of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, the principle of the income tax, the extended application of the Sherman Law, have been resented by thousands of business men on the ground that these measures somehow or other represent an "un-American" way of doing things. They interfere with liberty, with the inalienable right vested in free citizens to handle their affairs as they see fit. To these men the institution of private property is sacrosanct, devoid of social or political connotations, and not to be interfered with except under very special circumstances.

It is, of course, not to be denied that the progressive movement of the last two decades has brought with it a far higher appraisal of the legitimate function of restrictive governmental activity. But our instinctive reaction to regulation is still one of opposition. We are at heart confirmed individualists, possessed of a superstitious fear of authority and secretly doubtful whether efficient public administration is possible. The conception of the state—not in terms of the political mysticism of Hegel and his followers, but in terms of individual sacrifice and the common good—has not yet penetrated the inert *laissez-faire* consciousness of America.

I trust I do not underestimate the priceless value of the political liberty and individual spontaneity which have gained for us our place in the world. That we have given an effective demonstration of the political theory that society can be organized without curtailing the incentive and achievement of its component parts cannot be gainsaid. Indeed, as Professor Giddings points out, our function as a democracy has been to prove that the energetic, inventive individual is the force-

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generating unit of healthy social organization. The danger arises only as the units forget the need of co-operation and co-ordination in matters that affect the welfare of all, only as they become blind to the fact that the mechanical organization of society demands adjustment, harmony, subordination. And this is our danger in America.

Tramping along a country road in the Far West, I accepted the invitation of a farmer to join him on his hay-rack. As we drove along I noticed that three vehicles had come up behind us, but were, on account of the narrowness of the road, unable to pass. Finally I ventured to suggest to my companion that he drive aside. "To hell with them!" was his laconic reply, as he spat contemptuously into the road. He was exercising the privileges of a free-born American citizen, and I suppose that in the back of his head he had the idea of an "inalienable right" to drive as he pleased.

This is not an isolated incident. It occurs daily in every American city. Unimportant in itself, it is none the less typical of the self-centered individualism of America. It is a strange and unhappy anomaly that the country in which the sense of personal freedom is most strongly developed should be the one to show the greatest disregard for the public consequences of personal conduct. It is small wonder that the nations of Europe regard us as a raw and undisciplined people. We are still at heart pioneers with frontier conceptions of liberty. Many of these conceptions are rooted in the well-worn shibboleths of our fathers. A Chicago newspaper with a wide circulation in the Middle West gravely assures its readers that that government is best which governs least, and the sentiment is echoed in Mr. Bryan's "Commoner." As Sir Leslie Stephen remarked, philosophic theories survive long after their brains have been knocked out. In the face of a cataclysm that is changing the course of human history and the complexion of the whole world, we still tell the beads of our individualistic political philosophy and repeat the pious platitudes of our eighteenth-century political creed. It is hardly for us to say that Germany is thinking in terms of feudalism and Frederick the Great, despite the truth of the charge. We ourselves, many of us, are thinking in terms of "natural rights" and Jefferson and *laissez-faire* and all the other mental trappings of a century ago, and all the time the question hangs in the balance whether an undisciplined, loosely organized democracy can stand the onslaught of a compact brotherhood inspired by a united patriotism and welded together by an iron discipline.

A few weeks ago, in Chicago, I saw a small procession of women carrying a banner with the words, "We are out for our American Rights." I do not know what rights they meant, and it is possible that what they wanted they ought in justice to have. But the procession and the banner are symbolic of America. We are out for our rights. They are our chief concern. The obligations of citizenship and the disciplined co-ordination of effort which it entails, the necessities of the state, the rights of some other class, perhaps in conflict with our own—these matters are all of secondary importance. We have been taught that this is a free country. Freedom to many of us means a distribution of prizes, and we are out for all we can get. To one weary of the talk of "rights," what an amazing relief it would be if a Chicago procession should march with this banner: "We are out to serve the State. Freedom is self-sacrifice. Rights carry corresponding duties, and privileges a corresponding burden."

We here in America lack that supreme possession of German citizenship, the mental attitude which Mr. H. G. Wells has so happily termed "a sense of the state"—a sustaining conception of the collective interest as an object of simple duty and as a determining factor in the life of each individual. True, in Germany this conception is rooted in autocracy and maintained under the restrictions of a feudal caste. In Germany, too, it involves a philosophic theory of the state inapplicable to America. But without the ready self-sacrifice and the disciplined patriotism which it implies, no nation, democratic or feudal, can survive. We in America will never give over our principles of liberty, nor will we subscribe to any doctrine that makes the government our master rather than our creature. But if liberty and discipline are incompatible, if democracy cannot conceive of the subordination of individual interests, then freedom needs redefining. Is it possible that from the horror of the present hour a new liberty will come—purged of its selfishness, catholic in its sympathies, ready for humble self-sacrifice to achieve the greatest good?

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BY THE WAY

Chinese shipyards may possibly yet build ships for us, as they are already building them for European owners. Hongkong is said to be enjoying a shipbuilding boom on an unprecedented scale, one yard being prepared to build steamships up to 10,000 tons. The labor employed, including foremen, is all Chinese, though the white race supplies the technical staff.

A somewhat striking tribute to Ibsen is the "Ibsen Play-Writing Course," started by a dramatic magazine. The course is to be based on "A Doll's House." "This play," says the announcement, "is selected because of the world-wide influence it has wielded on drama at large and because the author's original notes are available for guidance in each step of construction."

The number of immigrants who came to this country via the port of New York in the year just ended was only 95,467—about one-tenth of the number who came in the year preceding the war.

In a list of epoch-making inventions of the last fifty years given in an official report, thirty-six are credited to "people of the United States," fourteen to foreign inventors. The first ten in each list, respectively, are as follows: American—Telephone, typewriter, cash register, incandescent lamp, talking machine, electric furnace reduction, electrolytic alkali production, transparent photograph film, motion-picture machine, buttonhole sewing machine. Foreign—Electric steel, dynamite, artificial alizarene (dye), siphon recorder, gas engine, wireless telegraphy, smokeless powder, Diesel oil motor, centrifugal creamer, manganese steel.

The "Woman's World" appeals to women generally to follow the example of business women and cultivate the virtue of punctuality. "One of the lessons," it says, "the business and working woman has learned is to be prompt. Managers of large establishments tell us that as a rule women are more punctual than men. There has been a notable improvement in the punctuality of the home, due mainly to the influence of modern business."

The president of the Japanese Citizens' Association of Hawaii set a good example to other hyphenated Americans in these words in a recent address to his associates: "You who were born in Hawaii are not the sons of the Emperor [of Japan]. If trouble should come with Japan, you must remember that you are the sons of the President, not of the Emperor. Aim to work for the best examples of citizenship and then aim to work for peace."

The Russian ruler, a subscriber points out, may be made the subject of apocalyptic criticism, as well as the Kaiser. Using the spelling Tzar, the mystic number, that of the "beast," comes out this way: T (the 20th letter in the alphabet) and 4—204; Z (26 and 4)—264; A (1 and 4)—14; R (18 and 4)—184 = 666.

As the Czar and the Kaiser are thus the subject of criticism by keen wits, it is perhaps fair to add this contribution of the Seattle "Post-Intelligencer" to the noble sport of making game of kings: "One thing that the British public has made up its mind to: There will be no equestrian statue of George V."

A New York traveling salesman who was out of work hit on a scheme that quickly brought results. He walked through a crowded business street carrying on a pole this sign, with its attention-arresting headline: "*Prosperity and Leap Year!* I am still out of work. Gentlemen, I apply to you. Can you use a strong, energetic, willing man in your shop or sales department? *I seek employment.*" Within a few hours he received three offers of jobs.

Harry Vardon, the famous English golf player, says in the "Golfers' Magazine" that American caddies are as a class more independent than their English cousins. He instances the case of a boy in Florida who, coming to him eagerly in the middle of a round, exclaimed, "Here! hold these clubs and I'll go and kill a snake for you!" This story is fairly matched, however, by that of a Scotch caddy who, on Mr. Vardon's dissenting from his judgment as to a certain shot, exclaimed indignantly: "All right! you can have your own way now till the finish. Don't ask me anything else!"

A soldier at the front who writes a letter to a British provincial paper says that there is usually an evening bombardment, and after it is over everything is very quiet. "You can then wander through the communication trenches," he says, "for a mile or more without meeting a soul, and when the fire trenches are reached, one often sees nothing more dreadful than a man in the depths of a dugout peaceably cooking his evening steak over a coke brazier." Later, the "star shells" begin to go up, and these "shed a sort of silent ghastly glimmer over the whole flat country."

Watches with luminous dials, so that the time can be seen at night, are said to be a novelty in this country, though familiar in Europe. An American firm has recently put these "night and day" watches on the market. They will appeal to the man who must get up at an early hour and who hates to move from his pillow to strike a match or turn on the light to see how long he can put off the inevitable.

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